Pindar & the Construction of Syracusan Monarchy in the Fifth Century B.C.

KATHRYN A. MORGAN

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Pindar and the Construction of Syracusan Monarchy in the Fifth Century B.C.

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For Den
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I first read Pindar as an undergraduate under the gentle guidance of Richard Hamilton at Bryn Mawr College, although at the time I could not imagine being able to generate a paper, let alone a book, on so weighty a poet. It was another Bryn Mawr professor, Bruni Ridgway, who suggested to me during a lengthy dinner in Delphi (when I was struggling to find my way with my dissertation) that Pindar would repay closer acquaintance and who, several years later, helped me with a troublesome issue in Chapter 2. My dissertation material on Pindar never made it into my first book, but my work then kindled an interest that led me to this project. It is satisfying, therefore, to recognize anew the efforts of Tony Long and Mark Griffith at UC Berkley, who shepherded me through the dissertation and whose critiques helped shape my approach to the intricacies of Pindaric myth. To all these teachers I owe a debt of gratitude.

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EDITIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Pindar and Bacchylides are cited according to the following editions:

Snell, B., and H. Maehler. 1992. *Bacchylides.* Leipzig: Teubner.

Snell, B., and H. Maehler. 1987. *Pindarus. Pars I. Epinicia*. 8th ed. Leipzig: Teubner.

Snell, B., and H. Maehler. 1989. *Pindarus. Pars II. Fragmenta. Indices*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Drachmann, A. B. 1903–1927. *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina.* 3 vols. Leipzig: Teubner.

ARV^2	Beazley, J. D. 1963. *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Atlas	Hansen, E., and G. Algreen-Ussing. 1975. *Topographie et architecture. Sanctuaire d'Apollon. Atlas. Fouilles de Delphes* II.1. Paris: de Boccard.
CEG	Hansen, P. A. 1983. *Carmina epigraphica graeca saeculorum VIII–V a.Chr.n*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
DK	Diels, H., and W. Kranz, eds. 1961/[1952]. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker.* 3 vols. 10th ed. Berlin: Weidmann.
FGE	Page, D. L., ed. 1981. *Further Greek Epigrams*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
FGrHist	Jacoby, F. 1923–1958. *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*. Berlin: Weidmann.
L-P	Lobel, E., and D. Page, eds. 1955. *Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

M-L Meiggs R., and D. Lewis, eds. 1969. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century* B.C. Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

PCG Kassel R., and C. Austin. 1983–. *Poetae comici graeci.* 8 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter.

PMG Page, D. L. 1962. *Poetae melici graeci*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

PMGF Davies, M. 1991. *Poetarum melicorum graecorum fragmenta.* Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

TrGF Snell, B., and R. Kannicht, eds. 1986–. *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

West^2 West, M. L. 1971. *Iambi et elegi graeci*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

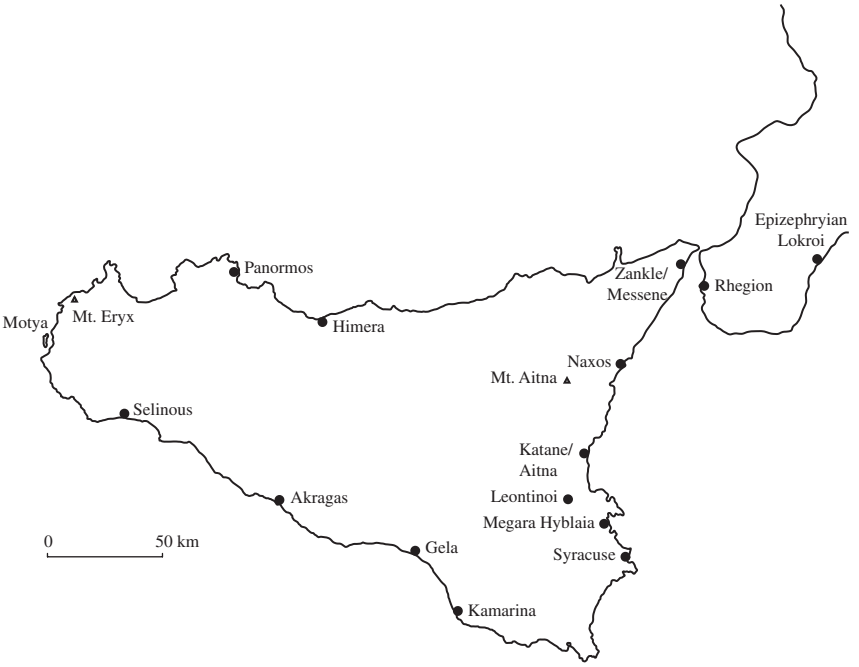

FIGURE 0.1 Map of Sicily and Southern Italy

CHAPTER 1 | Introduction

THIS BOOK IS AN effort to read Pindar's poetry for Hieron of Syracuse through the lens of its Sicilian, and specifically Syracusan, context. Hieron was tyrant (or king, depending on your point of view) of Syracuse between 478 and 467 B.C., founder of the city of Aitna (formerly Katane) in 476, victor over the Etruscans at the Battle of Kumai in 474, and avid participant in hippic competitions on the Greek mainland.[1] Pindar composed for him four victory odes celebrating his victories in the horse and chariot races at the Pythian and Olympic Games as well as a number of other poems that have been only imperfectly preserved. Pindar produced more poetry for Hieron than for any other patron. His preserved epinicians (*Olympian* 1 and *Pythians* 1–3) have been justly admired, and they were placed (because of the prestige of hippic victory) at the front of the *Olympian* and *Pythian* odes in the Alexandrian edition of Pindar. They are magnificent and complex, but also generate a certain amount of discomfort; they are felt to be in some way atypical. Now, in one sense this is because they are *tours de force*; exceptional achievement by its nature stands out from the crowd (a very Pindaric sentiment!). Yet they also generate a feeling that they do not really conform to what we expect of a victory ode. This is particularly the case (as we shall see) with *Pythians* 1–3, which have all been identified in various ways and at various times as "impure" epinicians.[2] Willcock, writing a valuable recommendation for how to introduce

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[1] All dates are B.C. unless otherwise noted.

[2] Cf. Mullen 1982: 168 ("None of the three remaining odes for Hieron, in fact—*P.*1, *P.*2, *P.*3—are primarily epinician in intent, for the victories alluded to in each are there only to grace more momentous themes").

students to Pindar, sensibly proposed starting with simpler odes, so that one could see "what an epinician ode was like when it was not at the same time trying to be something else," where odes for the tyrant of Syracuse are definitely included among odes that are "trying to be something else."[3]

The discussion in the chapters that follow will often have occasion to insist on the flexibility of epinician as a genre, but here I want to focus on the idea that these victory odes are "trying to be something else." To be sure, the application of Willcock's remark was not restricted to odes for Hieron, yet I think it is true that reading these odes does give the impression that *something else* is going on (although not necessarily that they are trying to *be* something else). One might generate a number of responses to the challenge to specify what that something is, and of course, one could well reply that *something else* is always going on in any Pindaric ode, as the poet works to place the victor appropriately in an intricate network of local and panhellenic beliefs and practices. Still, even if we acknowledge that the Hieron odes are not uniquely complex, we can investigate whether they reflect a particular set of concerns and goals. I find these goals in the construction of a model of virtuous kingship that intervenes in the long Greek debate over the nature of good or bad leadership. This debate is central to the conflict between Achilles and Agamemnon in the *Iliad* and is an important feature of Hesiod's strictures on "gift-devouring" kings in the *Works and Days* and of his evocation of the Muse-blessed good king of the *Theogony*. I shall be arguing that Pindar creates a powerful vision of divinely blessed monarchy that resonates with these predecessors and carefully locates Hieron's monarchy in a space intermediate between gods and ordinary mortals. In *Pythian* 1 this model of kingship aligns itself with developing Greek ideas on freedom in the wake of the Persian Wars. In all these odes the monarch's good fortune is counterbalanced by the potential for spectacular disaster, a threat that is expressed in a "tyrannical mythology" whereby a hero (or heroine) from the past enjoys unusual closeness with a god or the gods, only to bring ruin on himself or herself by failing to manage this closeness appropriately. These negative exemplars emphasize the dangers against which Hieron must protect himself by self-knowledge and prudent counsel, and by implying that he has escaped and will escape such dangers, Pindar praises him. In this vision of kingship, the monarch knows his limits, and he displays this knowledge by sponsoring song in

[3] Willcock 1978: 37–38.

which it is constructed. The odes thus theorize and perform the creation and promulgation of a particular understanding of kingship.

Pindaric song and the authority of the poet's voice play an important role in this happy version of reality. The poet's freedom to speak "honestly" to the ruler dramatizes Hieron's good faith and attempts to inoculate the relationship against the natural suspicion that poetry composed for a monarch will be characterized by subservience and flattery. Hieron's patronage of the Muses, his setting of musical performance at the heart of his court, bespeaks his prioritizing of harmonious civic discourse. This will be most explicit in *Pythian* 1, where the performance of heavenly music on Olympos maps directly onto earthly performance and both guarantee the subjection of the forces of chaos by a righteous ruler. Similar ideas, however, also underlie the other odes.

Why would Hieron be interested in the construction of such a model? Two factors spring to mind. The first is, as we shall see in Chapter 2, that Hieron was the younger brother of an immensely successful ruler, Gelon, who had presided over the transfer of the family's (the Deinomenids') seat of power from Gela to Syracuse in 485 and over the expansion of Syracuse into the major power in eastern Sicily. Although Hieron would put into practice his own schemes for influence and expansion, he must have been keen to establish a prominent ideological profile. For such purposes, song is ideal. It is portable (as Pindar points out in the famous opening of *Nemean* 5) and can be reperformed. When it is choral it expresses communal solidarity and ties the performance to the religious life of the polis. Second, Hieron's rule over Syracuse came at a crucial time in the development of the Greek imaginary: the years immediately following the Persian invasion of the Greek mainland and the surprising defeat of that force in the Battles of Salamis and Plataia (in 480 and 479). The Persians were ruled by their Great King, Xerxes, but the Greeks were fighting for themselves and for their freedom. This is how Aeschylus' Athenians saw the issue in his play *Persians* of 472, and the model had solidified by the time Herodotus wrote the history of the conflict in the second half of the fifth century. The Persian king presided over slaves, whereas the Greeks, and in particular the Spartans (free though subject to law; Hdt. 7.104), were free.[4] Xerxes' behavior, as reported to and by the Greeks, contributed to the construction of a despotic template. As Carolyn Dewald has shown so well, the narrative of Herodotus paints a careful and nuanced picture of the operation of this template in the

[4] Raaflaub 2004.

case of both eastern autocrats and Greek tyrants (who often become implicated in eastern imperialism). With the former above all,

> we see a basic misjudgment arising in all of them, that has to do with the distance from others that also insulates the autocratic ruler from hearing good advice, or acting on it if by chance it is heard. . . . Something in the nature of autocratic imperialism prevents despots from taking seriously their own fallibility and mortality.[5]

The detailed operations of this template are of course Herodotus' own construction, but it is striking how Dewald's reconstruction foregrounds insulation from good advice and ignorance of fallibility and mortality as tyrannical flaws (and they are, of course, the flaws of epic and tragic kings from Agamemnon to Oedipus).

Xerxes changed the terrain for Greek autocrats. After the Persian invasion monarchy would be linked to eastern despotism and the threat to Greek freedom. This was reinforced by the association of various Greek tyrants with Xerxes and with the Persians. Gelon himself, the ruler of Syracuse when Xerxes attacked Greece, was rumored to have been ready to come to an accommodation with him (see Chapter 2). If Hieron wanted to interact with the Greeks of the mainland in the 470s and have his delegations welcomed at the panhellenic sanctuaries, he would have to present an acceptable version of monarchy. He continued his brother's practice of dedication at these sanctuaries, but he also needed a richer elaboration of the nature of his kingship, and this is where Pindar and the other poets patronized by Hieron came in. Like many Greek aristocrats, the Deinomenids trained horses and competed at mainland festivals. They also participated in the practice of memorializing their victories in song and sculpture. These songs provided the perfect opportunity to set Hieron and his achievements in a favorable context. Greek lyric excelled at creating links between the present and the mythological past; by so doing it created present meaning. Pindar's odes for Hieron powerfully conjure figures of the heroic past who meet with disaster because of failings that, although they were not unique to tyrants, were to become increasingly associated with them: ignorance of their own fallibility and mortality, and arrogance that leads them to cut themselves off from the society of the good.[6] The trajectory in the

[5] Dewald 2003: 34–35.

[6] Angeli-Bernardini 1983: 51–54 includes my "great sinners" in her more general treatment of negative exemplarity. For tyrants in Athenian tragedy, see Seaford 2003.

Hieron odes that united the "great sinners," Ixion, Tantalos, and Koronis, with the monstrous Typhon and the well-meaning but flawed Asklepios was relevant and recognizable. They represent the threatening negative side of extraordinary position and divine favor. The presentation of these dark exemplars is matched by an elaboration of the virtues of Hieronic kingship: justice, culture, generosity, and so on. The contrast speaks for itself, but it is also a form of advice and, as noted above, a guarantee. Not only is Hieron virtuous, but he knows the negative paradigm, and he is capable of contextualizing his own monarchy in the range of behaviors exhibited by the powerful.

Clearly, my approach to Pindar's poetry for Hieron is operating within a historicizing framework. I do not intend to offer here an exhaustive review of the history of Pindaric scholarship in order to justify my approach; many useful surveys exist already. It might be helpful, however, to outline the scope I intend for such a methodology. David Young's magisterial review of Pindaric scholarship, published in a revised version in 1970, declared that history has only a limited purpose in literary criticism and rightly castigated many interpreters for excesses that resulted from (1) inventing facts about the personal life of the poet or patron and then using these "facts" as the key to interpretation, and (2) (not necessarily the same thing) thinking that an historical situation could explain an ode.[7] Historicizing criticism enjoyed a somewhat questionable reputation until the publication of Leslie Kurke's groundbreaking study *The Traffic in Praise* in 1991, which marked the application of new historicist methodologies to the study of Pindar. Because she thought it reasonable that "the major social developments of the archaic period would have left some mark on these poems," Kurke's aim was to focus on "the interaction of the different social groups that composed the poet's audience and the victor's community" and "to construct a sociological poetics of Pindar."[8] In the last two decades, a number of studies—not always new historicist but often historicizing—have followed this lead.[9] Bruno Currie has examined the relationship between Pindar's poetry and hero cult; Nigel Nicholson has explored the ideological implications of the frequent

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[7] Young 1970. See his comments on the approach of Schmidt (1987: 20): "Schmidt nevertheless sought to uncover, on the grounds that the epinicians are occasional poetry, an historical situation which would explain the content of an ode (the occasion of the victory apparently seemed insufficient grounds for an occasional poem to Schmidt and to many other scholars)."

[8] Kurke 1991: 3, 8.

[9] See Nicholson 2007 for a review of three such books, together with a measured consideration of the extent to which they might be considered "new historicist."

elision of the jockey or charioteer from epinician; Anne Pippin Burnett studied Pindar's Aeginetan odes from the perspective of the creation of communal identity at the time of passage into manhood for boy victors; David Fearn's 2007 book on Bacchylides reads his songs through a political lens.[10] On a broader scale, Barbara Kowalzig has considered the role of religious song in the making of social change throughout the Archaic and Classical Greek world.[11] This listing is clearly incomplete, but it does give an idea of the range and interest of work on choral song in general and epinician specifically. My own study is part of this movement: it is an exciting time to be working on Pindar.

These developments have not gone without adverse comment. The chief discomfort is generated by a feeling that such readings portray the poet's behavior as rigidly determined by social, economic, political, and anthropological forces.[12] There can be a fear that historicizing readings tend to be reductive. Aside from registering my belief that any analysis should be evaluated on its own merits, I want to insist, first of all, that an historicizing approach need not be deterministic. Pindar is not at the mercy of social and political forces, but he does inhabit them; since he is a composer of occasional poetry his work will reflect this world. Indeed, it will attempt to shape it. Hieron, I hypothesized above, was living at a time when the notions of kingship, authority, and freedom were being energetically interrogated after the Persian Wars. The poetry produced by Pindar for his court was one aspect of a larger effort to create a positive representation of the tyrant for Sicily and for the mainland. Yet what Pindar had to offer Hieron was an authoritative poetic voice unbeholden to him, one that could choose to compose for him or not and whose production could therefore be construed as disinterested. Detailed programs do not usually make for good poetry, and there is no need to think that Pindar was given a list of topics he needed to cover. It would not have taken a degree in sociology to understand the exigencies of Hieron's situation. That Pindar and Bacchylides produced very different songs faced with the same general task shows that there was no detailed program; still, the general framework of victory and divine favor—fundamental presuppositions of epinician—provided an ideal opportunity for positive depiction in Sicily and

[10] Currie 2005; Nicholson 2003, 2005; Burnett 2005; Fearn 2007.
[11] Kowalzig 2007.
[12] Nisetich 2007–08: 538. At 542 Nisetich suggests "that historicism and scholarship have a fatal attraction for each other—a bad relationship, not unlike that between the Furies and the House of Atreus."

on the mainland. I envision Pindar as a constructive agent in the creation of Hieron's image.

Reading a Pindaric ode against its historical context need not result in interpretation that underrates its literary qualities. This brings us to the problem of "essence" versus "trappings" or "specific" versus "general."[13] Ever since Aristotle it has been tempting to see poetry as avoiding the details of what Alcibiades did or said; instead it expresses more general truths. With this approach it matters little that the passage of centuries has stripped away knowledge of much of the context of Pindar's occasional poetry, because we have been left with "Pindar's timeless quality."[14] The timeless attractions of the odes have indeed long entranced audiences and readers, yet it seems impoverishing to me to regard the occasion of an ode under the rubric of "trappings." I do not think I am saying anything original when I assert that the success of an ode comes from the fusion of occasion with its more generalizing aspects—and we should take a broad view of what constitutes "occasion." In the Hieron odes it should include not only the fact of victory at the games (which is, as we shall see, often not the most prominent aspect of the odes) but the larger context in which the ode was composed: not just, then, a victory in the horse race (*Olympian* 1), but a victory in 476 just after the end of the Persian Wars and just before Hieron's foundation of Aitna, at a time when the question of Sicilian participation in wider Greek efforts against the barbarian was in the air. These songs were composed to last forever, and they have done so partly because they combine the "timeless" values Pindar claims to find in the past (although these values are of course themselves constructed) with present urgency.[15] Anything that can shed light on that urgency is an opportunity, not an inconvenience.

Does this mean that an historical situation can "explain" the content of an ode? I am no advocate of monolithic explanations nor do I assert that the approach taken in this study is a unique avenue to understanding these poems. I do think that interpretation of the odes for Hieron is enriched when we read them against the background of the 470s; in that decade the notion of victory became particularly resonant and the genre of epinician offered much to someone, like Hieron, who wanted to use it to

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[13] Nisetich 2007–08: 539–540.

[14] Young 1970: 70.

[15] Morrison 2007: 117–119 argues for a Pindaric strategy of placing the victor's name in close proximity to gnomic passages, since these were more likely to be excerpted. This would keep the victor clearly in view of later audiences.

reimagine himself and his kingship. We do not know as much as we would like about the nature of early epinician, but certain topics that are at home in Pindar's victory odes generally (e.g., wealth, jealousy, slander, divine favor, connection between athletic and military victory, justice, attachment to the interests of the polis) are well suited to the exploration of the nature of kingly power. No one can doubt that Pindar's epinician masterfully manipulated a set of common themes and motifs, but there is considerable interest, as Young pointed out, in investigating why a particular motif is used in a particular way.[16] I shall be attempting to show how generic topoi and myths are animated by a specific historical context and in the service of Hieron's goals of panhellenic preeminence. Pindar is an active agent in this transformation, and his goal is not conservative (I make no assessment here of his personal politics, only of his operation in this set of poems): to redescribe contemporary tyranny as an instantiation of golden-age kingship and consonant with best Greek tradition.

There is no reason, then, to disclaim "propagandistic" intent on the part of Hieron or Pindar simply because odes for kings and tyrants share topoi with odes written for aristocrats. This is in part the argument of Gregor Weber, who distinguishes between the *effect* of epinician for kings (the fame of the dynasty) and its intent, which was, he feels, decidedly unpolitical. Additional elements of his treatment of this issue are that (1) the fact that it is difficult to distinguish commissioned from freely offered poetry makes it difficult to reconstruct purposeful propaganda; (2) Pindar does not focus on a political form but on how power is used; and (3) we do not see the genre change in Pindar's royal odes, nor could we expect it to, given that its elements are an external given. Pindar does not develop a special vocabulary for tyrants, but treats them as normal aristocrats.[17] None of these objections are decisive, and some of them, as we shall see, may be unjustified. The nature of the commissioning relationship between Pindar and his *laudandi* has recently come under increasing scrutiny (Chapter 3), but even if we had clearer evidence about it, this would not entail that a "freely offered" poem could not serve a royal agenda. To assume so is to employ too coarse-grained an analysis of freedom and constraint. Nor need the notion of propaganda require that a poet receive a fixed program from a patron. Pindar and the other poets who visited Syracuse were not merely guns for hire; their contribution to Syracusan culture would have

[16.] Young 1970: 87–88.
[17.] Weber 1992: 54–63.

been less valuable if they were. Pindar does, as Weber argues, focus on how power is used, but by no means does he ignore monarchy as a form of government; rather he explores this issue both implicitly and explicitly in the Hieron odes. We shall see moreover that royal odes are characterized by features such as the "superlative vaunt" (the assertion that the victor is supreme in a certain field of endeavor) and that the poems for Hieron share the mythological focus on great sinners referred to above. The supposition that generic elements are an external given that constrains the poet to a certain range of expression does scant justice to the flexibility of epinician and archaic genre.

Historians have devoted some attention to the political implications of the portrayal of Hieron in epinician. Nino Luraghi's survey of this picture concludes that it is aspirational (rather than institutional), reflecting how Hieron wanted to be perceived: as a legitimate monarch on the model of Kroisos or the two kings of Sparta.[18] Sarah Harrell's brief reading of the Hieron odes argues, as do I, that their goal is to present Hieron as a benevolent epic king, although she insists (wrongly, I believe) that the odes were intended to create this picture only for a local audience.[19] These suggestive readings need to be connected with broader studies of the role of tyranny and monarchy in epinician. The specter (or reality) of tyranny has played an important part in several such analyses, demonstrating that there can be considerable interpretative payoff in thinking carefully about the role played by tyranny in the conceptual universe of the victory ode, even if one does not agree with every aspect of any given analysis. The work of Gregory Nagy has connected the emergence from more generalized poetic traditions of individual authors such as Pindar and Bacchylides with the patronage of "tyrants or quasityrants who forged their individuality through such public media as poetry itself."[20] For Nagy, all of Pindar's patrons have tyrannical potential because of the connection between athletic victory and the potential for a tyrant's power (as we see in the attempt of the Athenian Olympic victor Kylon to stage a coup d'état and seize control of the city). Since "the private possession of poetry by tyrants, despite their self-proclaimed status as public benefactors, can be perceived by antityrants as a threat to the truth of poetry," Pindar's poetry warns against the

[18] Luraghi 1994: 355–363, cf. Luraghi 2011: 35–43.
[19] Harrell 2002: 441–448. For her contention that the Deinomenid dedications at panhellenic sanctuaries feature Gelon and Hieron as "private citizens" see section "Panhellenic Dedications" in Chapter 2.
[20] Nagy 1990: 174.

threat of tyranny and if that threat has been realized "can shift to a stance of praising the *turannos* 'tyrant' as a *basileus* 'king' while all along maintaining a condemnation of tyranny."[21] Nagy's focus on tyrannical status as a threat to the truth of poetry is a point well taken; we shall see how Pindar's emphasis on his role as advisor and teller of truth to power is designed to insulate his songs from this kind of critique. At the same time, treating Pindar's patrons in general as a group of tyrants and quasi-tyrants might risk overstressing his condemnation of tyranny and losing specificity in analyses of individual odes; this is why my own investigation concentrates on a discrete group of odes where the dynamic of tyrant/king is the subject of special interest.

Kurke's important analysis of *megaloprepeia,* munificence, in Pindar's epinicians offers another angle whereby we can see the treatment of tyrannical power and self-fashioning set apart from the rest of the odes. She is concerned with the tensions raised within the polis by large-scale expenditure in areas such as hospitality and participation in the games. Such expenditures can be configured as "dedications" on behalf of the city, but they may still evoke envy and ill-will because *megaloprepeia* can be seen as an avenue to tyranny. The threat is dispelled by the rejection of excess and inclusion of the city (both implicitly and explicitly) in Pindar's victory poetry.[22] Yet, as she points out, tyrants and dynasts are a special case. Such an individual is the "consummate *megaloprepēs.*" When he honors such individuals, the poet's only fear is that excessive praise may evoke boredom and satiety; the dynast, however, can spend without limit. Envy is endemic to such a situation and no effort is made to diffuse it; "the enviers are mocked rather than mollified" and Pindar can use a "rhetoric of extremes," including the assertion that his patron's achievement in a particular area is superior to all others (Race's superlative vaunt).[23] The exploration of this "rhetoric of extremes" is a significant part of my project.

Thomas Cole's investigation of "the music of power" dwells at some length on the subject of Pindar's royal odes. His general concern is the possible link between the *kōmos* and political upheaval, and within this framework he examines the problem of control over the ode and its subtexts. In the case of odes for monarchs he concludes that certain monarchical institutions are so conspicuous that they dominate the landscape.[24] He finds that royal odes present positive and negative paradigms for the

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[21] Nagy 1990: 146–187 (Kylon at 156; quotes at 173 and 186).
[22] Kurke 1991: 195–211.
[23] Kurke 1991: 218–224; Race 1987: 138–139 with nn. 23 and 24.
[24] Cole 1992: 90.

relationship between ruler and subordinate, a trait he finds so pronounced that he concludes it must have been part of the commission: "The typical 'royal' myth concentrates attention on the point or moment of greatest challenge to monarchy, and in the event the challenge is successfully resisted." The monarchical situation is also reflected in a preoccupation with the link between slander and adulation, and the odes thus have a specific political task to perform: "For the courtier, the epinician would serve both as a general proclamation [of] the commissioner's power and as a specific promise and guarantee of good behavior."[25] Here is a reading of royal odes where political function plays a commanding role. For the Hieron odes, at least, one must agree with his focus on envy, flattery, and slander. Where I find agreement more difficult is on the issue of rulers, subordinates, and challenge to monarchy. Cole's reading gives pride of place to a message designed for local subordinates, those who might be considering disloyalty, slander, or the like. It is true that this might seem an attractive way of interpreting the myths of Tantalos, Ixion, Typhon, Koronis, and Asklepios. If Hieron is conceived as a type of Zeus (or Apollo in the case of Koronis), the myths' stress on divine omniscience and omnipotence could imply that resistance to or rebellion against the monarch is futile (I shall be countenancing the possibility of a similar reading when it comes to the interpretation of *Olympian* 6 in Chapter 9). Although this cannot be ruled out, it implies a fairly heavy-handed approach to presenting Hieron to the wider world, and one that limits the effectiveness of the ode to a restricted circle. Even if Hieron were a Zeus to the Syracusans, such a move would be less than attractive in Sparta or other mainland cities. My approach is different: to cast the great sinners of the Hieron odes not as negative exemplars for courtiers but for Hieron himself. These sinners, like a mortal tyrant, enjoy exceptional favor from the gods, but they must not take it for granted and let it cause them to make the category error of thinking that they are equal to the gods. There is, indeed, an analogical relationship between Zeus and Hieron and Hieron and his subjects, and when society is functioning as it should the hierarchy is a source of countless blessings. Yet there is also an ontological difference between the levels. Whereas a rebellious subject might, if fortunate, succeed in deposing the tyrant and seizing power for himself, this is not the case for Hieron and Zeus (for Hieron, heroization is a maximal possibility; see below). The different levels of the analogy are asymmetric. By advertising that Hieron

[25] Cole 1992: 125–129.

is aware of this distinction, Pindar renders him a more attractive figure to audiences outside Syracuse and Sicily. This is the way the odes serve as a promise of good behavior.

The approaches to Pindar's royal poetry reviewed thus far all show that the exploration of royal power or tyrannical authority is a powerful tool in the analysis of Pindaric epinician, perhaps even in nonroyal odes. They all consider tyranny as a kind of limit case for the genre. So for Nagy, Pindaric discourse (the *ainos*) fundamentally warns against the threat of tyranny but can adapt itself to positive treatment of tyranny when necessary. Kurke's similar approach sees epinician rhetoric as attempting to construct a communitarian consensus and pushed to the extreme in the case of tyrants. Cole's concern with the victory revel means that he views epinician as a way of channeling the enthusiasm of the *kōmos*; loss of control and uncontrollable subtexts are ongoing issues. In the case of royal odes, however, the dynamic changes. A greater degree of royal control over the victory revel—and over the ode—is to be expected. Constraints on the range and variety of audience response, he imagines, generate a certain passivity of reception (for both modern readers and the original audience). Indeed, Cole speculates that it is this greater control that has made these odes successful with later audiences: they are unified presentations of a single theme.[26] Paradoxically, then, for Cole the most successful victory songs are precisely those that have fallen away from the original framework of the genre. Now, one might well take issue with the contention that royal odes are unified around a single theme, that their intellectual texture is less "open." The chapters that follow, particularly on *Pythians* 1 and 2, will argue that there is considerable thematic complexity in the Hieron odes, and they are characterized by the same kind of associative juxtaposition that we find in the rest of the corpus. Questions of unity have a long and problematic history, and this is not the place to become bogged down in that particular slough (where defining terms is both difficult and frequently circular). But while acknowledging that odes for monarchic patrons are usefully grouped and analyzed together, we must still admit that we lack the knowledge to be able to conclude that they are divergences from a generic baseline whose interest derives from a kind of generic excess in which they are trying to achieve something unconnected with the task of epinician. We should at least register the possibility that royal praise could be not an excess but a source of generic

[26] Cole 1992: 131.

richness, arising from a colonial milieu that glorified both athletes and individual city founders.[27]

How should we locate Hieron within the range of possibilities for autocratic power? He was not an hereditary king, and Deinomenid rule in Syracuse was encompassed by a single generation of brothers. He was what the Greeks called a tyrant. We should not, however, think that Hieron needed the services of a poetic apologist simply because he was a tyrant. The word *tyrant*, which entered Greece as a loan word (possibly from the Balkans), may first have been used as a synonym of *basileus* (king) and seems to have gathered negative connotation first in an Athenian context (although even there the word retained the possibility for neutral flavoring).[28] Pindar's method of addressing Hieron varies. He twice calls him "king" (*basileus: O*. 1.23, *P*. 3.70), twice uses the title in gnomic statements that apply to Hieron (*O*. 1.114, *P*. 2.24), and twice refers to the present and future Deinomenid rulers of Aitna as "kings" (*P*. 1.60, 68). Other titles that Pindar attributes to Hieron are "leader/ruler (*archos P*. 1.73) and "authoritative lord/chief" (πρύτανι κύριε *P*. 2.58). *Basileus* has a wide extension in Pindar and is applied to gods, heroes, and historical kings in Cyrene. By contrast, the word *tyrant* is much less frequent. Vocabulary from this stem occurs only three times in the epinicians. All three occurrences belong to roughly the same time period, probably the 470s B.C., and they all occur in gnomic passages. In *Pythian* 11.53, an ode addressed to a Theban victor, Pindar "blames the lot of tyrannies" while arguing for an ideology of limited ambition and social harmony. The other two passages are from odes to Hieron. At *Pythian* 2.87, the poet states that a man of straight speech excels under any type of government, whether it is a tyranny, a democracy, or rule by "the wise" (see Chapter 5). In this passage tyranny remains neutral. At *Pythian* 3.85, we learn that a portion or fate of happiness accompanies Hieron, for "a great fate looks upon a tyrant who is leader of his people, if upon any man." Here, the gnome serves as a transition to the mythological exempla of Peleus and Kadmos (not even they had a secure life) and thus illuminates both Hieron and the heroes. The specification of the *tyrannos* as leader of his people and the extension

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[27] Hornblower and Morgan 2007a: 11, pointing to Ibycus of Rhegion as our earliest known practitioner of epinician and suggesting that "sung praise of individuals originated in the wild west."

[28] Parker 1998: 145–154. Luraghi 2013b: 136 (cf. 2013a: 17) urges us to see the conception of the tyrant as ambiguous from the very beginning, associated with hybris and injustice but often desirable. Clarity on this point is difficult, given that most of our sources are retrospective or Athenian; the dangers of back projection are great.

of the term to Peleus and Kadmos shows that there can be no pejorative connotations here.

Instances of *tyrannos* in Pindar do not, then, provide illumination as to how we should (or how the poet does) categorize these special patrons. If Pindar is assimilating Hieron to any category, it is clearly that of king.[29] Let me be clear what I mean by this. I do not suggest that there existed at Syracuse a constitutionally recognized form of kingship, nor that, as was sometimes suggested, Gelon was ever declared "king" of Syracuse or passed this title on to Hieron. This issue should also be separated from the controversial question of whether kings ever ruled in Greece in the Dark and Early Iron Ages.[30] The absence of contemporary sources on Hieron other than Pindar and Bacchylides deprives us of any control group of vocabulary (notably, Bacchylides never calls Hieron king). Hieron was doubtless called a tyrant regularly by other Greeks. Yet when the need arose he could equally well have been called king. Herodotus' narrative of the Greek embassy to seek aid from Gelon against the Persians (to which we shall return in Chapter 2; Hdt. 7.156–163) is instructive. Herodotus himself was hostile to tyrants and calls Gelon "a great tyrant" (7.156.3) and "tyrant of Sicily" (7.163.1). His ambassadors, however, take a different tack, addressing him as ruler (*archonti*) of Sicily (7.157.2) and subsequently as "king (*basileu*) of the Syracusans" (7.161.1). If one approved of Gelon or wanted to flatter him, one would have called him king, and if not, then tyrant, whatever the constitutional niceties of the situation. As Stewart Oost has observed, whether or not Gelon and his relatives were named kings in some official fashion (whatever that might be), a real monarch who is called a king with some regularity has a claim to be a real bearer of the title.[31]

More important is that by using this title Pindar activates a problematic theme that has its roots in epic and Hesiod's just and unjust kings. The shortcomings of Agamemnon as presented in the *Iliad* (a topic to which I shall return in Chapter 6) call into question the assumption that kingship

[29] See Luraghi 1994: 356–357 for the assimilation of Hieron to models of hereditary Dorian kingship (cf. also Mann 2001: 285–287).

[30] On early precedents for "kingship" and the absence of kings both in the Bronze Age and in the Archaic, see Morris 2003. Luraghi 2013a: 13–15, 2013b: 132–135 gives a good summary of the scholarly debate over the early existence of kingship in Greece, and the relationship of the *basileis* represented in Homer to that hypothetical kingship.

[31] Oost 1976: 230, although I am less convinced that the Deinomenids "took the royal title" (227). Rather, what they were called and what they called themselves would have depended on the protocols of a particular situation.

is normally accompanied by the skills to rule effectively, as Peter Rose has shown.[32] The *Iliad* introduced the notion that one can be more or less "kingly," as when Agamemnon claims to be "kinglier" than Achilles (*Il.* 9.160). Troubles arise when status is not matched by talent.[33] Rose also observes a tension in Hesiod between the idealization of monarchy in the *Theogony* and his denunciations of greedy kings in the *Works and Days* (where the "kings" seem to be powerful local oligarchs).[34] The Greek audience of Pindar's odes will want to know whether Hieron's monarchic status is matched by his abilities and where to locate him within the spectrum of regal excellence. When we meet Hieron at *Olympian* 1.12–13, we might be excused for thinking that his fortunate subjects are living in the golden age under the rule of Cronus: he wields the scepter of justice in Sicily rich in flocks, plucking the flowers of all the virtues. This is the model of sovereignty and society to which a king should aspire and corresponds to Hesiod's idealized king of the *Theogony*. Hieron is, by implication, a just king, yet the title by itself does not guarantee justice any more than it did in Hesiod. There can always be bad kings—such as Hesiod's greedy autocrats, or like Xerxes, who ruled over a nation of slaves and brought disaster on his people through unquenchable greed and the failure to know his own limits. Terminology is not so much the issue as is sovereignty and the use that Hieron will make of it. The king is in a situation where the significance of every action is magnified.

The next three chapters of this book establish the context against which I read the odes for Hieron. Chapter 2 ("The Deinomenids and Syracuse") looks broadly at the politics of Deinomenid self-representation in Syracuse and on the mainland at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., the foundation on which Pindar's construction of Hieron's kingship rests. No picture of Hieron can be complete without an assessment of the achievements of Hieron's brother Gelon, founder of the family tyranny. Gelon marks the moment when Sicilian power comes into powerful confrontation with mainland needs and narratives at the time of Xerxes' invasion. His refusal to provide troops for the Greek war effort was the source of mainland tales implying medizing intentions on his part. Such narratives were counterbalanced by his victory against the Carthaginians at Himera and through his

[32] Rose 1992: 66–76.
[33] Rose 1992: 73–74.
[34] Rose 1992: 96, cf. 112. Luraghi 2013a: 19 argues that the image of the good *basileus* is created by reversing that of the tyrant, and he attributes its first formulation to Socrates or Xenophon, but this does not do enough justice to the Hesiodic picture.

prominent intervention at Delphi and Olympia by dedication of war spoils and by the construction of monuments commemorating athletic and military victory. Gelon was an important player in the intensification of a culture of emulation at the panhellenic sanctuaries, and he would be followed by Hieron as he too sought to promote the recognition of his own triumphs in war and at the games. The culmination of these developments would be the approach to Hieron's rule we see in *Pythian* 1's creation of a master narrative of Greeks against barbarians. Both in sanctuary dedications and in poetry, the boundaries among athletic, military, and political achievements blur; athletic triumph becomes a metonym for victory of every sort. Deinomenid activities in venues outside Sicily were matched by domestic policies designed to emphasize Syracusan cultural singularity. Gelon and Hieron after him engaged in programs of city foundation and immigration. In the wake of the Battle of Himera, Syracusan architectural style changed and developed along lines more familiar from the mainland. Intense coinage production blended archaic traditions of elite value through equestrian victory with celebration of more recent accomplishments. All this activity contributed to the establishment of Syracuse as a hegemonic power in the west. Pindar's poetry was to celebrate this power and also to provide for it conceptual underpinnings that would integrate it into broader Greek conceptions of authority and identity.

Chapter 3 ("Poets and Patrons in Hieron's Syracuse") examines Hieron's efforts to make Syracuse a center of musical and intellectual sophistication. After looking briefly at the evidence for Syracusan performance traditions prior to the Deinomenids, I shall present the extraordinary collection of experts who gathered at Hieron's court at various points in the 470s and beyond. It was by any standard a concentration of unusual intensity: Pindar, Bacchylides, Simonides, Xenophanes, Epicharmus (a native Sicilian), and Aeschylus. In their different ways, all played their part in creating a successful image for Hieron, an image of wealth and power presiding over a rich and diverse culture. This was a power that allowed (or represented itself as allowing) frank advice and comic mockery. In the particularly interesting case of Aeschylus, we see (in his play *Aitnaiai)* the reconfiguration of the Sicilian mythological past in order to stage an exemplary monarchy in the present and (in the Syracusan performance of the *Persians)* the transferal to Sicily of the impetus of efforts against the barbarian that were currently undergoing their own mythologization. The concentration in that play on the disastrous decisions of Xerxes and their consequences would have thrown into relief Hieron's efforts to distance himself from a despotic template.

The performance of tragedy and comedy in Syracuse is, of course, easily located in a theater, even though no certain remains of the early fifth-century structure have been found. It is more difficult to reconstruct the locations and circumstances under which lyric performances would have taken place. The theater is a possibility, but there are other options (the palace, the agora), and I shall spend some time considering them. This issue is particularly pressing given the implicit connections of some of Pindar's odes with sympotic venues and the suggestions of festival performance made by various scholars. We shall need to ponder the implications of venue for audience size, and I shall be suggesting an approach that allows multiple performances and maximizes the number of people who would be exposed to the victory songs. Finally, this chapter also addresses the question of the relationship between poet and patron. At one level, this entails answering the fraught question of the commissioning of poetry (I shall opt for a flexible understanding of "payment"), but it also returns us to the issues of flattery, fear, and poetic truth that haunt all of Pindar's odes for Hieron. Pindar constructs his association with Hieron in such a way as to banish the charge of flattery and obsequiousness, first by aligning him with models such as Kroisos and against figures like Phalaris, and second by reconfiguring the relationship between king and singer so that it is no longer one of predation (as we see in Hesiod's famous riddle of the hawk and the nightingale), but of men preeminent in their sphere.

Since Hieron's ambitions played themselves out on both local and panhellenic stages, it is helpful to consider his profile compared to other leading Greek figures in the 470s. This is the object of my fourth chapter, "Placing Hieron," which argues that Hieron's activities and Pindar's celebration of them are intended to present Hieron as a competitor for glory in a particular forum, that of savior of Greece in the wake of the Persian Wars. To that end I survey the climate of praise for individual leaders that I see existing in Greece during the 470s. Using sources such as Simonides' Plataia elegy and Timocreon of Rhodes' invective against Themistokles, as well as contemporary epigrams and later historical treatments of Pausanias and Themistokles, I reconstruct a situation in which the leading statesmen of the day—especially Pausanias and Themistokles—are all engaged in a contest to claim that theirs is the fairest victory of them all. The stories of Pausanias and Themistokles show them trying—and failing—to capitalize on their achievements during the war. They both become implicated (rightly or wrongly) in charges of medism and become alienated from their polis. Hieron, on the other hand, is fortunate in inhabiting a position from which he can attempt to control his own reception without intervention

from Spartan ephors or the Athenian assembly. *Pythian* 1 (and possibly also his tripod monument at Delphi) reflects his claim to have won honor beyond any other Greek and to have saved Greece from slavery, claims that fit perfectly into the competitive environment of the 470s and are best understood against that background.

The odes themselves are treated in their presumed chronological order, although considerable uncertainty exists about the dating of the second and third *Pythians*. I regard the second *Pythian* as Pindar's earliest for Hieron and approach it as an exploration of the issues inherent in an autocratic polity (Chapter 5: "A Royal Poetics"). On the one hand, it deals with the civic reception of autocratic preeminence by presenting the principles according to which popular appreciation of royal benefaction arises and becomes transformed into song. The ode itself both commemorates and exemplifies this transformation, distancing itself from ungrateful and negative reception by rejecting and marginalizing envious and slanderous citizens. Yet it also explores the responsibilities of the exceptional individual, in this case Hieron. It sketches a dynamic of ordered control by dwelling on Hieron's relationship with his victorious chariot team and sets up Ixion as a negative exemplar. In spite of the great honor shown to him by the gods, Ixion was ungrateful and attempted to rape Hera. Exceptional favor became exceptional punishment when Ixion was bound to an eternally revolving *iunx* wheel and condemned to repeat forever a gnomic instruction recommending gratitude. His sexual transgression generated the monstrous Kentauros and the centaurs, who serve as the threatening counterpart of Hieron's chariot team. The favored individual occupies a middle position between gods and men and is the center of a complex network of gratitude given and received. The difficulties of such a situation demand a sophisticated standard of judgment; thus the ode spends some time in its final triad exploring the issue of superior judgment and asserting that straightforward speech is appropriate no matter what the constitutional situation. Given the perils of monarchy, warnings against envy apply both to the tyrant and to his subjects; the unusual intensity with which the poet projects himself into the ode advertises his commitment to laying bare these perils.

Olympian 1 (Chapter 6), more securely placed in 476, emerges from the first Olympics after the Persian Wars, just before Hieron's foundation of Aitna. This ode ties Hieron closely to a significant panhellenic sanctuary by relating him to Pelops, presented as a colonial foundation hero who enjoys both cult and immortal fame in spite of narrowly missing out on a life of eternal bliss as a favorite of Poseidon on Olympos. The negative

counterpart to Pelops and cause of his return to the world of mortals is his father, Tantalos, another divine favorite who, although he enjoyed reciprocal dining privileges with the gods, failed to understand that the honor shown to him set him apart from other men. Tantalos is the second of our "great sinners," and he replays the "fall" narrative wherein a favored mortal alienates the divine through an inability to manage his good fortune. His faultless son pays the price with his mortality but receives some compensation. Tantalos and Pelops both press the boundaries between mortal and divine and thus help to illuminate the position of Hieron, who has, as a king, attained the highest position possible for a mortal. Like Pelops, Hieron was shortly to become a founder figure, and he had ambitions to win a chariot race at Olympia (again like Pelops). Both Tantalos and Pelops, moreover, were proverbial figures representing wealth and royal dignity. The other geographic pole of the ode is of course Syracuse, and the poem's opening dwells at some length on the qualities of Hieron's blessed and fruitful kingship there, including the cultural splendors that comprehend the ode's performance, as well as intertextual relationships with Homeric and Hesiodic passages that focus on royal status and authority. As we might expect, poetic and civic discourse will be the key to tying these themes together, as the "wise" converge on Hieron's hearth and Pindar's song emerges from the general background of sympotic celebration to present just what we should and should not say when it comes to gods and kings.

Pythian 3 (Chapter 7, "Victory over Vicissitude") is in some ways the strangest of the odes for Hieron, a counterfactual epinician that mentions victories in the games as something long past and dwells on a present of sickness and disappointment. Once again it elaborates the model of failed human interaction with the divine, presenting the fate of Koronis, unfaithful to Apollo because she "desired what was distant," and her son Asklepios, struck down by Zeus' thunderbolt because he tried to bring someone back from the dead. No matter how privileged the individual, they must respect the constraints of their mortal nature. The pressure of constraints and our awareness of them are expressed in the poem through extended play on unattainable wishes and counterfactual constructions. The poem opens with the common, even hackneyed, wish that Chiron were alive to send miraculous healing to Hieron. Everybody (the poet supposes) wants this—but what would it entail? The myths of Koronis and Asklepios that follow answer this question, and the poet, the architect of the possible and the effective, must pass beyond mythological fantasy to what lies right in front of him: his ability to immortalize Hieron in song. The vision of poetry's triumph over death is communicated via a sustained intertextual

relationship with Homer's *Iliad*, which enriches and softens the model of human vicissitude. As we shall see, it is not just sinners like Asklepios and Koronis who come up against the limits of their own condition. Even such heroes as Peleus and Kadmos, whose marriage feasts were attended by the gods (and who thus enjoyed commensality with them *without* allowing it to corrupt them, as did Tantalos and Ixion) subsequently suffered grief through their children. Nestor and Sarpedon (with whom the poem closes), figures who, as we shall see, are deeply implicated in the complexities of unattainable wishes, are known to us only through song. Pindar's insistence on the possible and his refusal of immortalizing fantasy normalizes Hieron's position in the Greek world order. Hieron's illness gives the poet the opportunity to deepen our conception of what victory means and present a nuanced appreciation of the effect of vicissitude even on the extraordinarily blest. *Pythian* 3 is a very special kind of epinician.

In Chapter 8 ("A Civic Symphony") I turn to one of Pindar's most perfect songs, *Pythian* 1, this time composed clearly for a chariot victory (at the Pythian Games in 470), yet an epinician that explicitly deploys the victory as a sign for something else. This is the foundation of Aitna, for which the victory is an omen of future success. Neither victory nor foundation is mentioned until a third of the way into an ode whose beginning is entirely occupied by an evocation of Apollo's lyre together with its effects on Olympos and on the world below—a celestial mirror of the proposed effect of Pindar's composition on earth. Music is an expression of the harmonies of peace and good government; Pindar's song thus merges with Hieron's rule, and both do their part to defeat the forces of darkness represented by the monstrous Typhon in the world of myth and the Phoenician and Etruscan barbarians in the world of history. Hieron's new foundation of Aitna pins down the monster defeated by Zeus and trapped underneath the mountain. Typhon is terrified by the sound of music (the hills are alive!). Similarly, another part of Typhon is underneath Kumai, where Hieron recently defeated the Etruscans. The song is poised, Janus-like, between internal civic harmony and military victory over external foes, and it parades complex sets of equivalences for both Syracusan and panhellenic audiences. So it is that the final sections of the ode obtrusively set the foundation at Aitna in the tradition of Spartan hereditary kingship and align Deinomenid victories over the Phoenicians and Etruscans with the mainland victories at Salamis and Plataia. Hieron is exhorted to stand firm in his idealized kingship and continue his practices of musical celebration; the *phorminx* that echoed on Olympos at the start of the song refuses its qualities to pitiless Phalaris, the home-grown and hateful Sicilian tyrant, but promises to Hieron commemoration to match

his achievement. The ode's fulfillment of this promise positions Hieron as legitimate monarch and panhellenic freedom fighter, a decisive winner in contemporary contests for preeminence.

The final chapter ("Henchmen") explores the variety of ways in which Hieron does and does not enter into three contemporary songs for his associates Chromios and Hagesias (*Nemeans* 1 and 9, and *Olympian* 6). Pindar's approach in these odes is by no means uniform—proof that there was no concerted "program" of Syracusan song to which the poet or victors were expected to conform. Nevertheless, the response of these songs to their political and cultural environment illuminates many of the themes we have seen operating in the Hieron odes. *Nemean* 9, like *Pythian* 1, plays off military victory external to the polis against internal civic harmony and features a myth (of Adrastos, Amphiaraos, and the Seven against Thebes) that focuses on faction, exile, and elite negotiation (including dynastic alliance). *Nemean* 1 presents Chromios as a peaceable aristocrat and pictures all Sicily rejoicing in his chariot victory. *Olympian* 6 models a movement from Arcadia to Olympia (in myth) and thence to Syracuse (in the person of the victor, Hagesias). Hieron is explicitly present as just ruler and receiver of the victory revel. In all three odes, Syracuse or Aitna appear as cultural hub and part of a larger network of mainland (and in one instance Aegean) sites, and I shall argue that references to foundation and migration are particularly apposite for victors and cities where foundation and refoundation has played an important role in the recent past. At the same time, they focus, in their own ways, on the model of a loyal auxiliary and the rewards for which he may hope. Coupled with this we see a more positive modeling of human interaction with the divine, possibly because Chromios and Hagesias, safely subordinate to the monarch, are not the locus of the stresses, dangers, and opportunities that characterize Hieron's position.

King, founder, and heroic individual: Pindar's characterization of Hieron in these odes merges different roles to form a composite that makes a powerful statement of authority both at home and abroad. Pindar's special version of self-reflexive poetics was ideally suited to define Hieron for a wide Greek public. His focus on his own authority and the poet's task meant that he could fruitfully engage with the construction of authority in others.[35] Poetic and kingly discourse had been linked since Hesiod, and this linkage enabled in the present case an almost theoretical investigation of the differing roles

[35] See Carey 1999: 18–19 for emphasis on the poetic persona in Pindar. Most 2012: 271–273, comparing Pindar's and Bacchylides' approaches to poetic communication, speaks of Bacchylides' as integrative and Pindar's as "individualizing." Note particularly that Most describes Pindar as "autocratically" correcting his listeners' previous knowledge: he "imposes his own version."

played by envy, slander, and flattery in an autocratic regime. The poet's self-knowledge is mapped onto the king's, resulting in a uniquely forceful and self-justifying rhetoric. There is no concern here for integrating the victor into a wider citizen body;[36] Hieron stands proud of his environment and is the source of civic accomplishment. This is a powerful message for his subjects and lieutenants, but also for cities on the mainland, which is why I talked above of a wide Greek public. These songs were designed to circulate, and they succeeded in doing so. We know that Pindar's *hyporchema* for Hieron (frr. 105a, b) was well enough known in Athens to be the subject of parody in Aristophanes' *Birds* (926–930, 941–945), and Jean Irigoin's study of the diffusion of the text of Pindar concluded that odes for the Sicilian tyrants (at least) were known in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries.[37] Hieron may well have hoped to be the recipient of hero cult in Aitna, but such cults were chiefly of local importance, and the stakes for him were higher: nothing less than acceptance as a panhellenic hero.

As I end this introduction, I would like to return briefly to Young's reservations about historicist readings quoted in note 7. He worried that because the odes were occasional poetry certain scholars sought to find an historical situation that would explain the content of an ode: "the occasion of the victory apparently seemed insufficient grounds for an occasional poem." There may be some profit in thinking about this from a different angle. I hope this book will show that the occasion of victory was so important that victory in the games became for Hieron a generalizable phenomenon, an achievement into which all other achievements could be rolled and celebrated. This is why the Hieron odes have such an extensive historical scope. Each of the songs considered here takes victory in the games as its occasion, even when that victory may have been distant (as in *Pythian* 3) or achieved in a minor contest (as in *Pythian* 2). Their scope and intensity have caused endless interpretative debates about "poetic letters" and "impure epinicians," but worries about generic purity may be beside the point.[38] Poems such as *Nemean* 11 for the installation of a *prytanis* on Tenedos illustrate the importance of athletic victory and the form we call "epinician" for occasions that go beyond the narrowly athletic.[39] They are, if anything, "hyper-epinicians," refining and concentrating a vision of monarchy for a world where kings were becoming unfashionable.

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[36] So too Mann 2001: 282–288; cf. Luraghi 1994: 354–355.
[37] Irigoin 1952: 12–18.
[38] A point Lefkowitz (1976: 104) also made in her reading of the odes.
[39] Fearn 2009: 26–31.

CHAPTER 2 | The Deinomenids and Syracuse

Introduction

Hieron ruled over Syracuse at a time of great change and great possibilities. He inherited from his brother the greatest city in Sicily and hoped to found a ruling dynasty of his own. He founded a city, defeated the Etruscans in battle, made splendid dedications in panhellenic sanctuaries, and filled his court with the greatest poets and intellectuals of his day. At a time when the Hellenic world was becoming exceptionally hostile to monarchic rule, he strove to create an image of noble kingship whose reflections we see in Pindar and Bacchylides and, later, Xenophon. The reality, however, fell short of the image and could not keep pace with broader developments. Within two years of his death the Deinomenid tyranny at Syracuse had fallen and Hieron's body had been disinterred from its founder's grave in the city of Aitna. This chapter will explore the politics of Deinomenid self-representation against which we shall be reading the epinician odes of Pindar and Bacchylides. Praise poetry was only one aspect of this representation and is best understood in its wider context. What traditions of monarchy and material glorification did Hieron inherit? How did he embed himself in Syracusan culture and make a place for himself in the broader Sicilian and Greek world? To answer these questions, we must start by looking backward to the imposing achievements of his elder brother, Gelon, and the rise to prominence of his family, the Deinomenids. It is fortunate that Deinomenid political activity and its related cultural production are reflected in a number of media. We survey their military activity, their programs of city foundation and dynastic alliance, their architecture and urban development, their coinage, their religious policy, their participation

in athletic contests, and their dedications. From all these areas a coherent picture will emerge of a pair of brothers who found themselves in a time of opportunity on the cusp of a new age and who were determined to shape that age to reflect their own autocratic agendas.

The Deinomenid clan first came to prominence in Gela, the Greek colony on the south coast of Sicily that was home to Deinomenes and his four sons, Gelon, Hieron, Polyzalos, and Thrasyboulos. Through a more remote ancestor, Telines (so ran the story), the family had acquired the hereditary priesthood of Demeter and Persephone: during a time of civil strife, Telines had managed to restore certain political refugees to Gela using only the sacred objects of the goddesses, on the condition that he and his descendants should have this priesthood (Hdt. 7.153).[1] In the late sixth century, when Gela came under the control of the tyrant Kleander, and later his brother Hippokrates, the family were supporters of the tyrants and Gelon became Hippokrates' hipparch. After Hippokrates' death in 491, Gelon campaigned on behalf of the tyrant's sons but, when he was victorious, made himself tyrant (Hdt. 7.154–155). Subsequent years saw Gelon aggressively expanding his influence in Sicily and up the Tyrrhenian sea. He made a marriage alliance with Theron, tyrant of Akragas by marrying his daughter, Damarete, and then set his sights on Syracuse. In 485/4 the city was suffering from civil strife between the landowning class (the *gamoroi*) and the *dēmos*, and the former fled the city. Gelon restored the *gamoroi* and moved against the city, which surrendered immediately.[2] Gelon established himself there (leaving his brother Hieron in charge of Gela) and proceeded to remake the city and conduct a thorough reworking of the citizen structure. He destroyed the town of Kamarina and moved its population to Syracuse, as well as half the population of Gela. In 483 he annexed Sicilian Megara and Euboia in eastern Sicily, brought the moneyed classes to Syracuse, and sold the poor into slavery. Herodotus, clearly not a sympathetic source, tells us that Gelon thought "the *dēmos* was a most unpleasant housemate" (Hdt. 7.156).[3] Lastly, Gelon made his mercenaries citizens of Syracuse and gave them land, probably from the territories of Megara and Euboia.[4]

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[1] Herodotus states that Telines was the hierophant of the "chthonic divinities," but this is usually combined with the information supplied by a scholiast to Pindar *P*. 2.27b that Hieron was the hierophant of the "two goddesses" to infer that the divinities in question were Demeter and Persephone (Hinz 1998: 55).

[2] On the constitution of the *gamoroi* see Luraghi 1994: 282–287.

[3] For Herodotus' attitude toward Gelon, see Vattuone 1994: 81–83, 96–97. For a more detailed examination of Deinomenid city foundation, see below.

[4] On the refoundation of Syracuse, see Luraghi 1994: 289–290, 296–301; Mafodda 1996: 67–76.

This reorganization made Syracuse and Gelon a dominant power in Sicily. The only real rival to his preeminence in Greek Sicily was Theron, tyrant of Akragas (a member of the Emmenid clan). The westernmost part of the island was in the Phoenician sphere of influence. Attempts to found Greek colonies there (by Pentathlos and the Knidians at Lilybaion around 580, and by the Spartan prince Dorieus near Mt. Eryx around 510) had ended in failure, but we need not doubt that the area was an ongoing magnet for covetous glances on the part of Sicilian autocrats. Meanwhile across the straits in Rhegion, the tyrant Anaxilas was busily trying to extend his influence both by intervening in the affairs of Sicilian Zankle and by contracting a marriage alliance with the tyrant of Sicilian Himera. This complex web of interests and ambition led to the defining event of Gelon's reign: his defeat of invading Carthaginian forces in 480 at Himera on the central north coast of the island, to which we return shortly. After this battle Gelon's power was unthreatened, although he did not have long to enjoy his glory. He died in 478 and power in Syracuse passed to Hieron, while to his younger brother Polyzalos Gelon left a military command and his wife, Damarete. Hieron then ruled Syracuse until his death in 467. His brother Thrasyboulos became the next tyrant but was deposed after an uprising in 466, after which the city became a democracy. The major military success of Hieron's reign was his intervention in the affairs of the Greek colony of Kumai on the Bay of Naples. In 474 the inhabitants appealed for his aid in their struggles with the Etruscans, and he dispatched a navy that defeated them. This victory would be magnified by Pindar and others into an accomplishment to rival that of Gelon at Himera and the mainland Greeks at Salamis and Plataia, though a punitive naval expedition to Italy scarcely seems comparable to repelling a barbarian invasion force. The forced nature of the comparison tells us a lot about Hieron's cultural ambitions, his desire to match his brother and insert himself into the ongoing narratives of the mainland, but Hieron was also pursuing an opening that had been created originally by Gelon in the political maneuvering associated with the battle of Himera.

The Battle of Himera and Its Significance

Specifying the precise contemporary significance of the battle of Himera (and even its dating) is problematic, since the event began to be overlaid with tendentious interpretation shortly after it occurred, and this process continued throughout the reign of Hieron and well down into the fourth century. The battle underwent a process of mythologization that we will see

at work in Pindar's odes and in a more developed form in the narrative of Herodotus. It is thus difficult to say how Gelon intended his participation in this battle to be received, although with Hieron we perhaps stand on firmer ground. What we can say is that it has remained a site of great interpretative tension, both in the judgments of the ancient world and in the assessments of modern scholarship. At stake is Sicily's place in the master narrative of the early fifth century on the Greek mainland: Greeks against barbarians, the defense of freedom, and resistance to monarchical tyranny and concomitant slavery. Ultimately, I argue, Pindar's development of a mythology of kingship in his odes for Hieron is a direct response to these concerns.

Let us begin, then, with the first developed narrative of the battle and its associated events, that of Herodotus (7.153–167). We have seen above how Herodotus tells the story of Gelon's move to Syracuse. These chapters form a digression in Book 7 occasioned by the arrival in Sicily of a mainland Greek delegation asking Gelon for help against Xerxes shortly before his invasion. Having established Gelon in Syracuse, Herodotus tells how the mainland embassy asked Gelon for help in supporting those who were defending Greek freedom. If Xerxes were to win he would doubtless attack Sicily next, so Gelon's participation would be to his own advantage. Gelon responds by accusing the Greeks of hypocrisy. Previously, he says, he had asked for their help against a barbarian enemy when he was involved in strife with the Carthaginians. He had invited them to avenge the murder of the Spartan Dorieus in western Sicily and to join in freeing the trading posts (*emporia*), but no help was forthcoming. Now that the war has come to them, they remember Gelon. Nevertheless, he continues, he is prepared to support them handsomely if they will make him the leader (*hēgemōn*) of the Greeks against the barbarian. The Spartans angrily insist on their right to command. Gelon offers instead to take the naval command, and the Athenians object. Negotiations thus break down and the mainlanders depart. Gelon, although he cannot bear the idea of being commanded by a Spartan, is concerned that Greece may not be able to withstand Xerxes, so he sends a trusted associate to Delphi with a large sum of money. If Xerxes wins, Gelon plans to submit to him, whereas if the Greeks win, the money is to return to Sicily, which does in fact occur. Herodotus then tells a Sicilian version of these events (7.165–166). Even though he did not want to be "ruled" by the Lakedaimonians, Gelon would have helped the Greeks, if it had not been for the actions of Terillos. Terillos was the tyrant of Himera and the guest-friend of the Carthaginian Hamilkar. He was also the father-in-law of Anaxilas, the tyrant of Rhegion. When Terillos was expelled from Himera by Theron, tyrant of Akragas, he used his friendship

with Hamilkar to engineer a Carthaginian invasion. Gelon was thus unable to help the Greeks but sent money to Delphi instead. Gelon and Theron joined forces and defeated Hamilkar (who disappeared during the battle and was never seen again). According to the Sicilians, this battle happened on the same day the Greeks defeated Xerxes' navy at the battle of Salamis.

Before historicity, themes. The passage shows that by the second half of the fifth century, and probably earlier, at least two separate traditions had grown up around Gelon's nonparticipation in the campaigns of the Persian Wars, one Sicilian and one rooted on the mainland. Common to both is an emphasis on ruling and hegemony. The Spartans feel they must be *hēgemōn* (*tout court*), the Athenians insist on leadership at sea (if this is not held by the Spartans), and Gelon (like Agamemnon in the *Iliad*) reasons that he should be the leader since he has the biggest army and the most ships.[5] This is an issue even in the Sicilian version, where Gelon is said to have been willing to help although he would be ruled by the Lakedaimonians. Another common element is money. In the mainland version it is a payoff for Xerxes; in the Sicilian it is aid for the Greeks. In both we see the commonplace of the deployment of wealth by a tyrant (at Delphi) in order to protect his interests. One further item of interest is that Herodotus' Gelon is shown to be a manipulator of the historical record in order to create parallel situations that work to his advantage. Dorieus, a Spartan prince and elder brother to Leonidas (later the hero of Thermopylai), had around 510 embarked on a Spartan colonization venture in western Sicily (in the Carthaginian sphere of influence) because, says Herodotus, he *could not bear to be ruled* by his inferior half-brother Kleomenes, king of Sparta (Hdt. 5.41–48). He died there in battle with the Carthaginians. In Herodotus' embassy narrative, Gelon accuses the Spartans of neglecting their own interests when they were invited to join with Gelon against the barbarian in order to avenge a member of their own royal household and help free trade outposts from which they benefited. Besides neatly turning the tables on the ambassadors, Gelon may also be implying that Sicily is the home to figures who are naturally superior to their Spartan counterparts on the mainland. The struggle against the barbarian becomes conceptually prior in the west.[6] This Gelon, then, is an

[5] Might we see here an implicit reply to the Lakedaimonian assertion that "Agamemnon, descendent of Pelops" would roll over in his grave if they did not command?

[6] It is possible, though this must remain mere speculation, that Gelon saw himself as the inheritor of the Dorian mantle in Sicily. An anecdote told at Polyaenus *Strat*. 1.27.3 refers to an invitation by Gelon to Dorians to move to Sicily (ἐποίκους μὲν ἐκάλει τοὺς ἐθέλοντας Δωριῶν; Luraghi 1994: 289–290).

opportunist who justifies himself by one-sided readings of the past, creating present parallels by manipulating the data at his disposal. A version of the same technique would lie behind the interpretation of the money sent to Delphi. If the Sicilians claimed that the money was sent to help the Greeks, we may well suspect that this report originated with Gelon, whose intentions we have no means of discerning.

But was it Gelon who created these parallels or Herodotus (or some person or group in between)? The account has often excited suspicions on the grounds of historical implausibility.[7] Could it be that the story of the embassy is entirely fabricated? To what conflict does Gelon refer when he mentions his troubles with the Carthaginians? The only conflict we are certain of is the one that led to the Battle of Himera, and it has been suggested that Herodotus' Gelon speaks as though this conflict is already in the past with a successful outcome.[8] Faced with this confusion, scholars have argued either that the dating of Himera should be moved up from 480 or that Herodotus' narrative is incoherent.[9] There is some indication in Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus (19.1.9) that there had been hostilities between Gelon and Carthage before 480, but again, opinions differ on how seriously we should take this evidence.[10] If the Battle of Himera did take place in 480 and there was an embassy (in 481) before Xerxes' invasion, then the non-Sicilian version that Herodotus tells is biased against Gelon for not mentioning the battle.[11] The Sicilian version that Herodotus reports would then preserve a more accurate view of events: Gelon was prevented from participating largely because of the imminence of the Battle of Himera.[12] We may note also the studied imprecision of Gelon's speech to the envoys. He does not say that he defeated the Carthaginians in battle, merely

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[7] The Athenian claims to leadership of the naval contingent have caused particular discomfort: Gauthier 1966: 19 sees them as anachronistic, a retrojected naval hegemony. It is indeed not impossible that the Athenian intervention is a later elaboration, yet Herodotus' narrative has the Athenians claim *hegemony* of the navy only in the sense of battle command, not in the later sense of "empire." If Gelon truly did claim command because he had the most men and ships, surely it is not impossible that the Athenians did the same on the basis of the size of their naval force.

[8] Luraghi 1994: 280–281.

[9] Moving the battle: Mazzarino 1955: 59–60. Incoherent: Luraghi 1994: 280. Another option (Gauthier 1966: 22–24) is to say that Himera had not yet happened at the time of the embassy but Gelon was ignorant of the Carthaginian preparations, thus generating a hostile Spartan tradition.

[10] Maddoli 1982: 247–250 finds it crucial and bases a theory of Greek-Carthaginian relations on it. Luraghi 1994: 277–281 dismisses it; cf. Bravo 1993: 55, 453.

[11] Gauthier 1966: 22. The bias has been argued to be Spartan (Gauthier 1966: 17–21) and/or Athenian (Treves 1941; Gauthier 1966: 21–22; Zahrnt 1993: 374).

[12] Zahrnt 1993: 373–375.

hat the situation turned out well for him and even improved.[13] This is perfectly consistent with skirmishing in western Sicily, probably while he was still based at Gela, and perhaps even on the pretext of avenging Dorieus and extending an economic sphere of influence. The "improvement" could be his move to Syracuse and the dominance he then exercised.

The account of Herodotus, while doubtless colored by developments of the later fifth century, does not seem inherently implausible.[14] Strife over leadership, the tyrannical deployment of wealth, vengeance for past wrongs: all are at home in the thematic repertory of the early fifth century. The manipulation of the historical record for ideological purposes need not be seen only as an aspect of Herodotean narrative practice; it could equally well be the work of canny politicians and kings at the time of the Persian Wars. We shall see how Gelon's brother and successor exploited such opportunities. Gelon himself had a lively sense of his own significance and (possibly) a knack for perceiving and acting on historical patterns if he used his descent from Telines as a tool during his conquest of Syracuse,[15] and argued to the mainland Greeks that their troubles corresponded to his own previous ones (note too how the Persian troubles are constructed in Gelon's speech as conceptually subsequent to his own: "Now the war has come round and arrived at you"). Whatever the precise truth about Sparta's lack of enthusiasm in pursuing opportunities in Sicily, all that is really necessary as a background to the jibe about Dorieus is that there was an invitation for Peloponnesian involvement on the island in the early fifth century, not that this was framed at the time in possibly anachronistic terms of liberation or that there was any conception of an overall barbarian threat.[16] Gelon had a successful tyrant's flair for opportunism, one that will be seen in action in his dedications on the Greek mainland after his victory at Himera. One conclusion is, however, certain: no matter what the decision is about the historicity of the embassy (and I am inclined to think it historical), Herodotus' narrative makes it clear that by the late fifth century, and in all probability directly after the Persian Wars, there was intense debate about Gelon's actions and motives. Was he or was he not a medizer?

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[13] 7.158.3: ἀλλὰ εὖ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον κατέστη.

[14] So Zahrnt 1993: 375–376.

[15] Luraghi 1994: 286–287 plausibly speculates that Gelon's restoration of the *gamoroi* to Syracuse may have been assimilated in his propaganda to Telines' restoration of the political exiles to Gela—except that once in power, Gelon made no attempt to restore to them their privileges. See also Musti 1995: 3.

[16] For Harrell 2006: 121, the exchange illustrates how easily a panhellenic impulse might be trumped by local interests, and this is doubtless true. A narrative episode, however, may be presented in terms of panhellenic issues without this entailing that the issues were operative at the time rather than in retrospective rhetoric.

How obsessed was he with his own ruling status? What was the connection between events in Sicily and the Persian campaign on the mainland? These were questions to which Hieron would have to provide answers, given his brother's death shortly after the war.

Information about the battle itself is provided by Diodorus (11.20–26, probably relying on some combination of his predecessors Ephorus, Timaeus, and Philistus). When Hamilkar and his forces arrived at Himera, they marched on the town, trapping Theron of Akragas and the defenders inside the city. Theron asked Gelon for help, and he immediately marched on the city. In Diodorus' version, Gelon sets his troops to attack while Hamilkar is performing a sacrifice. Hamilkar is killed and the Carthaginians overwhelmed; huge numbers are slaughtered or taken prisoner. In Herodotus (7.166–167) Hamilkar disappears during the battle and is never seen again; the Carthaginian explanation is that when he realized his army was defeated, Hamilkar threw himself onto the sacrificial pyre and was utterly consumed. Theron, then—although Himera was in his sphere of influence, and although he would reap considerable rewards from the prisoners captured (Diod. Sic. 11.25.2–3)—ended up as a minor partner in the victory, while the bulk of the prestige and financial rewards went to Gelon, who then went about memorializing his achievements at the panhellenic sanctuaries of the mainland.

Panhellenic Dedications

At Olympia, Gelon (who was no stranger to dedications there) dedicated a large statue of Zeus and three linen corselets in the treasury building that Pausanias (6.19.7) calls the "Treasury of the Carthaginians," although it is more correctly identified as the Treasury of the Syracusans. Pausanias himself makes the connection with the victory over Phoenician foes and associates the dedications with "Gelon and the Syracusans, who had beaten the Phoenicians either with ships or in an infantry battle." Pausanias seems to have had no detailed information on the battle, but the association with Himera is an obvious one.[17] It is uncertain whether Gelon also built the treasury. Pausanias does not say he did, but on the basis of its moldings the building must be dated prior to the Temple of Zeus (470–457) and its capitals, though not identical in profile to those of the post-Himera temple of Athena in Syracuse, can fruitfully be associated with it.[18] Although some have

[17] van Compernolle 1992: 30; Harrell 2006: 129–130; Scott 2010: 167–168, 191. Pettinato 2000 speculates that Pausanias must have known perfectly well about the Battle of Himera but suppresses the details because of his hostility toward Gelon.

[18] Klein 1998: 364 n. 97; Mertens 2006: 274; cf. Luraghi 1994: 317–318, with n. 188.

wanted to place it at the end of the sixth century, it is difficult to see what would have motivated the Syracusan aristocracy to squeeze in a new monument (between two older ones) on the Treasury Terrace at Olympia at that point.[19] Interestingly, the earlier Treasury of Gela (mid sixth century) was given a splendid new Doric porch on its south façade around the turn of the century. This was possibly the work of Gelon's tyrannical predecessor in that city, Hippokrates, and good reason for Gelon to attempt to surpass his architectural intervention.[20] Celebration of Himera is certainly a convenient peg on which to hang the construction of the treasury (although it is of course suspicious for precisely that reason), and this is the hypothesis I adopt.[21] Yet even if the structure antedated Gelon, his dedications there transformed the understanding of the construction, to the extent that it was identified with his victory over the Phoenician foe and could be called the "Treasury of the Carthaginians." This would be one more example (among many) of Gelon's opportunistic talents in creating favorable cultural readings. One might also note that the "large" statue of Zeus located in the treasury (if, as seems likely, dedicated by Gelon) participates in a trend, starting in the early fifth century, to commemorate military victory at Olympia with Zeus statues.[22] Several such statues would be placed in the area to the north of the Bouleuterion, among which was, famously, the colossal (4.4 m.) bronze statue of Zeus hurling a thunderbolt that was erected from the spoils of Plataia (Hdt. 9.81.1; Paus. 5.23.1–3). Krumeich has argued vigorously that it is misguided to see a connection between the Zeus of Plataia and Gelon's dedication, and it is certainly true that there was no shortage of Zeus statues in the sanctuary at the time.[23] If, however, we may assume that the Treasury had to be constructed before the placement of the bronze statue and the booty, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Plataia Zeus would have been standing first, even though the battle itself (479) postdates Himera (480). We might also surmise that the nature of Gelon's memorialization of his victory was designed to make a strong statement that set him apart from those who were dedicating further south in the sanctuary: not just a Zeus statue or a dedication of booty (either of which might in themselves have constituted a sufficient memorial) but both, set in a custom-built treasury.

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[19] For the earlier dating, see Hönle 1972: 78.

[20] Rups 1986: 50; van Compernolle 1992: 50; Mann 2001: 237.

[21] So too Luraghi 1994: 317–318; Mann 2001: 240.

[22] Scott 2010: 172–174.

[23] Krumeich 1991: 61–62. Scott 2010: 191–192 strangely ignores Gelon's Zeus statue and the dedication of corselets, stating that the treasury dedication *replaced* a Zeus statue.

At Delphi, Gelon's post-Himera intervention was even more impressive and gives us a good opportunity to observe the politics of dedication at work. Delphi was a busy place in the years after the Battle of Plataia. The majority of dedications from the Persian Wars are found there; they cluster on the east side of the temple terrace in greater numbers than at any other sanctuary (Fig. 2.1).[24] First in panhellenic importance were the dedications by the alliance: the Apollo of Salamis (Hdt. 8.121.2, Paus. 10.14.5) and the famed Plataia tripod (Hdt. 9.81.1, Paus. 10.13.9). These were surrounded by a host of other monuments such as the Bull of the Plataians (Paus. 10.15.1) and the bronze mast topped by three golden stars celebrating the *aristeia* of the Aeginetans (Hdt. 8.122). Even cities that played a small or questionable part in the Persian Wars made dedications in the area. Thus Alexander I of Macedon erected a huge golden statue of himself using the spoils he took from the retreating Persians after the Battle of Plataia (Hdt. 8.121.2). His own role in the conflict had been problematic (Hdt. 8.142, 9.44–45) and he could easily be accused of medizing.[25] As Michael Scott astutely remarks, "Delphi had emerged as *the* sanctuary in which it was crucial to get one's story across, particularly if suspected of being allied with the Persians."[26] Cities that had not participated in the Persian Wars but had fought barbarians also dedicated in this area. In this group we may place a Tarentine monument celebrating a victory over the "barbarian" Peuketioi, and the Deinomenid tripods. Clearly there was a "culture of emulation" between Greek states at Delphi in the first part of the fifth century. Alexander I's statue was placed close to the Apollo of Salamis, and the Tarentine monument was close to the Plataia tripod.[27] Phaüllos of Kroton, who was a victorious Pythian athlete and who led a contingent from that city to the Battle of Salamis (the only contingent of western Greeks at the battle), also had a statue erected at Delphi, one whose inscription may have combined mention of the Battle of Salamis with his three Pythian victories.[28] If so, the combination of athletic and military triumph has important resonance for our consideration of the Deinomenids. It is even possible that Theron, tyrant of Akragas, made a dedication in the same area, and one can see why.[29] Anybody who was anybody wanted to participate in the glow of panhellenic victory.

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[24] Gauer 1968: 127; Scott 2010: 81–88 with figs. 4.3 and 4.4.
[25] Cf. Fearn 2007: 30–34 on the ambiguities of Herodotus' presentation.
[26] Scott 2010: 87.
[27] Jacquemin 1992: 197–199; Gauer 1968: 128.
[28] For Phaüllos, see Pausanias 10.9.2, Herodotus 8.47, Rougemont 1992: 162. For speculation on the inscription (which belongs in the years after 480), see Gauer 1968: 122–123.
[29] Rougemont 1992: 164 n. 16.

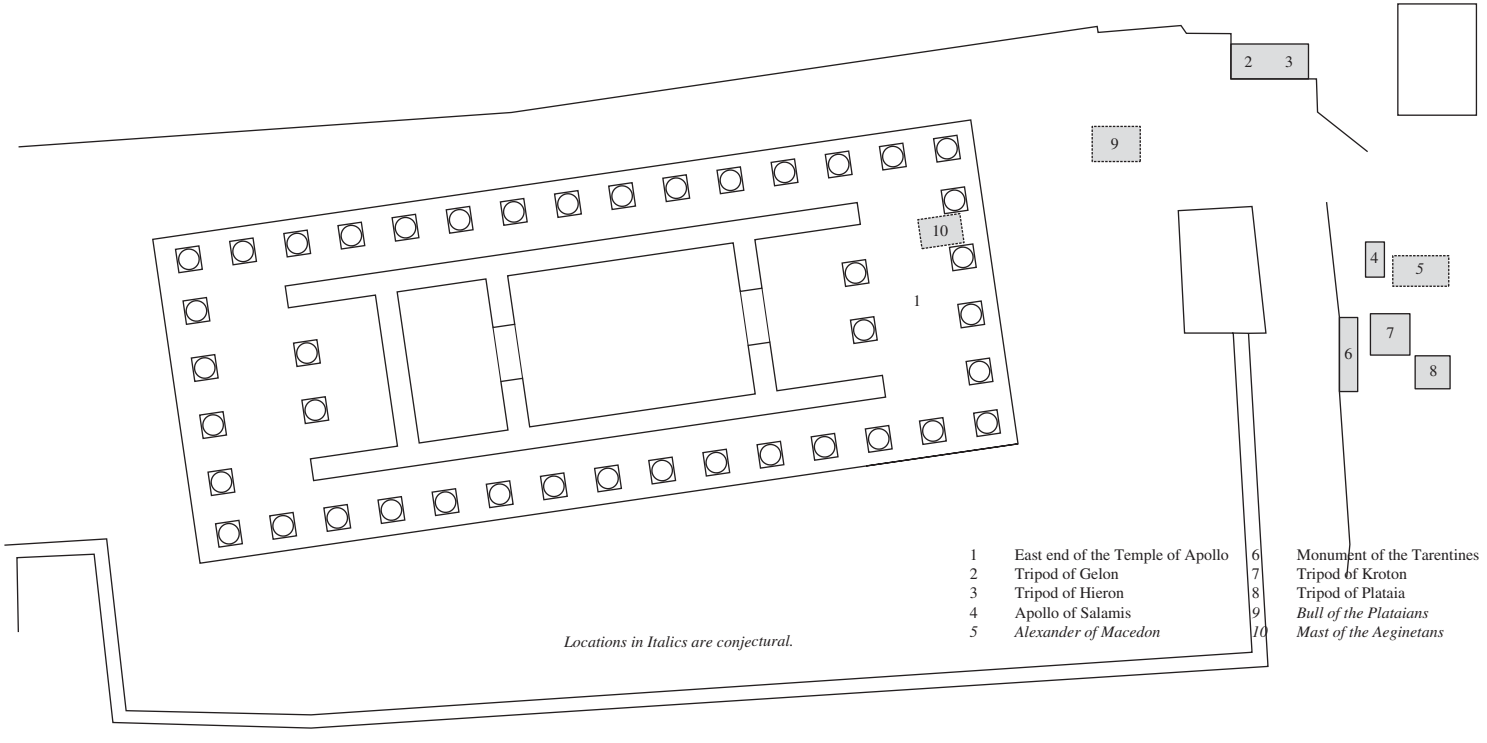

FIGURE 2.1 Plan of the east temple terrace at Delphi, showing the location of the Deinomenid tripods and of various dedications celebrating Greek victories over the Persians and other enemies.

It is against this background that we must read Gelon's tripod dedication (Figs. 2.1 and 2.2). I shall be adopting here a version of the traditional interpretation of this monument, one that brings it into an association with the Plataia tripod and the Battle of Himera, although both associations have been contested. Our potential sources for the monument are both literary and archaeological. Diodorus (11.26.4–7) tells us that after the Battle of Himera, Gelon made ready to travel to the mainland to help the Greeks against the Persians, but once he learned of Xerxes' retreat he remained in Sicily and gave an accounting of himself in the Syracusan assembly during which he was acclaimed as "benefactor, savior, and king." After this he built temples for Demeter and Persephone from the Phoenician spoils and "dedicated a golden tripod worth sixteen talents in the sacred precinct at Delphi as a thank-offering to Apollo." Athenaeus (6.231f–232b) reports the testimony of Phainias that Gelon dedicated a golden tripod and Nike (victory figure) at the time Xerxes was invading Greece; and of Theopompus that when Hieron wanted to do the same it took him a while to find enough gold. In the Delphic sanctuary at the northeast corner of the temple terrace, the French excavators found two campaniform bases. They were slightly different in size (the right hand one, Base B, being slightly

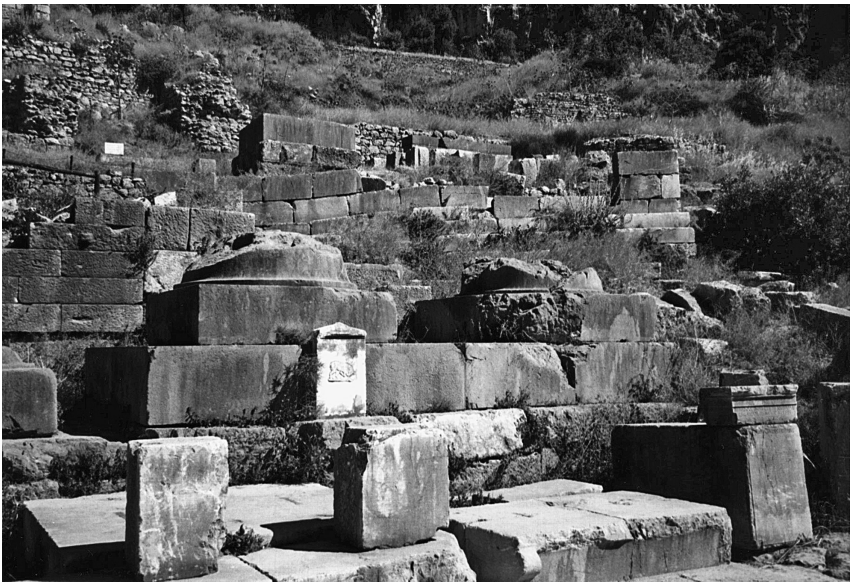

FIGURE 2.2 Bases of the Deinomenid tripods at Delphi. William West III (photographer), "Delphi (XXIV)," Ancient World Image Bank (New York: Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, 2009–) <http://www.flickr.com/photos/isawnyu/4910973120/>, used under terms of a Creative Commons Attribution license.

larger than the one to its left, Base A) but similar in detail. These two distinct bases lie on a foundation that is whole and continuous. Each base has an inscription on the block below. That on Base B is quite mutilated, but we can see enough to conclude that it gave, on the first line, a name and patronymic (probably "Deinomenes"), and on the second line part of a weight (seven *mnai*). A further two lines beneath have been erased. The inscription on Base A tells us first that "Gelon the son of Deinomenes, the Syracusan, dedicated to Apollo," (Γέλων ὁ Δεινομέν[εος] / ἀνέθηκε τὠπόλλονι / Συραφόσιος) and second that "Bion of Miletos, the son of Diodoros, made the tripod and the Nike."[30]

Two sets of initial questions arise concerning this monument. First, is it correct to associate Gelon's base with the Battle of Himera and the dedication described by Diodorus? Second, if we make this association, what is the nature of the relationship between Gelon's tripod and Nike with the Plataia tripod? There seems little doubt that Base A corresponds to the testimonium in Diodorus, and most interpreters have been content to accept that Gelon commemorated the battle on this base with a combination of a golden tripod and Nike. This conclusion has recently been challenged on the primary ground that there is no mention of the battle or spoils on the base. The sources preserved in Athenaeus, moreover, make no explicit causal connection between the battle and the base. Perhaps, then, we should dissociate the base from the battle and interpret the monument as Gelon's thank-offering to Apollo for his "refoundation" of Syracuse. Diodorus' account would be the fruit of a reinterpretation of the monument executed by Hieron and reflected in Pindar's *Pythian* 1 (see Chapter 8).[31] This is an intriguing suggestion; since the bases have been altered in antiquity (by erasure and even by a rearrangement of blocks), it is impossible to be certain about the original appearance of the dedication. Hieron's participation is supported by our ancient sources. We must ask, then, whether a tripod and Nike makes better sense as a foundation dedication or a battle commemoration. The early years of the fifth century seem to have witnessed a rise in the celebration of military victory at Delphi, and tripods were used increasingly for this purpose.[32] Although not decisive, this consideration does provide a good context for the tripod as a Himera dedication.[33] A statue of Apollo also on the east temple terrace commemorated Massilia's victory over the Carthaginians (Paus. 10.18.7)

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[30] *Atlas* #518; Courby 1927: 250–252; Amandry 1987: 81–83.
[31] Adornato 2005.
[32] Scott 2010: 75–76.
[33] Scott 2010: 317, appendix B, no. 71.

and dates to the sixth or fifth century. Even though it was not a tripod, this dedication establishes the east terrace as a location to celebrate victory over the Carthaginians. We know, moreover, that Gelon celebrated Himera with the complex of dedications at Olympia described above and thus that he had an interest in memorializing the victory at panhellenic sanctuaries.[34] Precisely because the monument has been altered, we do not know if other plaques or *stelai* might have mentioned the victory elsewhere on the monument.[35] Even if it is, therefore, possible that the dedication was a generalized thanksgiving for prosperity and power, it seems more probable that Diodorus was correct in associating the tripod with Himera.

To what extent, then, was the monument intended to respond to the tripod of Plataia? The two tripods were erected in close chronological proximity: the battle of Himera occurred (in all probability) in 480, and the battle of Plataia in 479. Both were of the same general type. They were erected on campaniform bases. The Plataia monument, nine meters high, consisted of a column of three bronze twisted serpents with the names of the participants in the battle engraved on the coils. At the top of the column, in the most plausible reconstruction, the three heads diverged to form the supports for the feet of the golden tripod.[36] Gelon's tripod will have had a central supporting column, surmounted by a golden Nike that held up a golden tripod.[37] As Didier Laroche remarks, the two dedications are connected not just by historical proximity but by their similar type: a precious offering set on a metallic column on a campaniform base.[38] Is this enough to argue dependency? Although this is sometimes stated as an unproblematic fact, caution is necessary. Gelon may well have planned his dedication in 480 before the Battle of Plataia, even though the continuing presence of

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[34] It seems therefore to overstate the case to contend that Gelon's victory was passed over in silence prior to Hieron (Adornato 2005: 416: "altrimenti passato sotto silenzio").

[35] Nor does Diodorus say explicitly that the tripod and Nike were dedicated from the spoils of the battle (contrast Adornato 2005: 405). He says that he constructed temples for Demeter and Kore from the spoils and dedicated a golden tripod to Apollo at Delphi as a thank-offering (. . . ὁ Γέλων ἐκ μὲν τῶν λαφύρων κατεσκεύασε ναοὺς ἀξιολόγους Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης, χρυσοῦν δὲ τρίποδα ποιήσας ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑκκαίδεκα ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνι χαριστήριον [11.26.7]—note the placement of the *men* and the *de*, which separates somewhat the golden tripod from the temple constructions that came from the spoils. So also Privitera 2003: 404).

[36] The tripod used to be reconstructed on the base at *Atlas* #408 but is now thought to belong slightly to the southeast (Fig. 2.1; Amandry 1987: 102–103; Laroche 1989: 183–185, 191–198). For the reconstruction with campaniform base, column, and tripod supported by snakes, see Laroche 1989: 196–198. Steinhart 1997: 35–45, however, still argues for a larger solution, where the tripod legs extend all the way to the ground.

[37] For the reconstruction, see Amandry 1987: 83–89.

[38] Laroche 1989: 196–198. He considers the Plataia tripod the prototype on stylistic grounds: the profile of the base is a reversed version of the profile of the serpents' heads.

Persians in Central Greece before the battle would have rendered dedications at the sanctuary difficult.[39] Tripods were not rare dedications at the sanctuary, and as we have seen their popularity was growing in the early fifth century as a way of celebrating military triumph. It seems unlikely, then, that Gelon used the Plataia monument as a model, or that the similarity of his tripod and column to that panhellenic dedication expressed a sense of apology that he had not helped the mainland Greeks in their hour of need.[40] If we are to say that the dedication gave a panhellenic aspect to Gelon's glory, we should not mean this defensively. Western dedications on the Greek mainland are not needy cries for attention but proud proclamations of achievement.

Gelon's tripod was most probably planned before he ever learned the details of the Plataia dedication, although in a climate where news of planned Salamis dedications may already have been spreading.[41] His choice to combine a divinity of victory (Nike) with a tripod, both elevated, recalls the overlaying of messages of victory we saw at Olympia, where he combined a treasury building with a statue of Zeus and spoils. He certainly participated in the panhellenic culture of emulation, but as an aggressor. Of course, once the Plataia tripod was erected, Gelon's dedication (whether finished or still in progress) would have taken on extra layers of meaning, reinforced by spatial juxtaposition. An implicit comparison with panhellenic victories at Salamis and Plataia would have been inescapable purely as a matter of reception, if not of intention. It needed no intervention by Gelon to achieve this, although he surely took advantage of his polysemic opportunities. The juxtaposition of monuments to Himera, Salamis, and Plataia by Gelon, the Greek alliance, and individual cities creates a climate of comparison and judgment that could not fail to influence trends in popular and partisan historiography. Unsurprisingly, these developments have often been retrojected onto the intentions of historical actors, and it has on occasion been tempting to read the relationship of the two tripods as a reflection of narratives surrounding their dedication.

This brings us back to the famous synchronism between Salamis and Himera that is part of the narrative of the Sicilian Greeks in Herodotus (7.166): the two battles happened on the same day. Diodorus, on the other hand (11.24.1), synchronizes the battles of Thermopylai and Himera. It is unlikely that either synchronism is accurate. They are both examples of "didactic synchronism," where what mattered "was not chronological

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[39] Krumeich 1991: 49–50; Zahrnt 1993: 363–364 with n. 35.

[40] Jacquemin 1999: 252; cf. the arguments of Krumeich 1991: 40 and passim.

[41] See Asheri 1991–92: 59 n. 10 for the difficulty of dating the battles precisely.

accuracy but the metahistorical message."[42] The message, of course, is that Sicilian efforts in the west were part of a larger panhellenic effort to fight off the barbarian, and it is of a piece with the claim that Gelon sent money to Delphi to help the Greek cause and that he was preparing to help the mainlanders when he received news of Xerxes' retreat. The narrative would develop throughout the fifth century and on into the fourth; by the time of Ephorus a theory (perhaps influenced by the thought of Isocrates) was current that the Persians and Carthaginians had coordinated their attack in east and west.[43] At what point, however, do we wish to set the beginning of this narrative trend? We need not ascribe to Gelon any soft panhellenic impulses; his motives for combating the Carthaginians in Sicily were self-interested, a matter of expanding his sphere of influence.[44] Once the victories were won, however, it would equally be in his interest to place himself in a wider Greek context of victory over the barbarians. His tripod staked his claim to military eminence, and given the climate in which it was erected, it claimed for his victories equal significance to those on the mainland. Would he have been making a propagandistic point that these were part of a larger panhellenic project? Probably not: to claim comparable significance for his achievements was not to make them part of a larger system. The origins of the synchronistic impulse are to be found with Hieron and Pindar.

One final aspect of Gelon's tripod that needs consideration before we proceed to Hieron's additions to the monument is the rhetoric of dedicatory formulas. In her study of Deinomenid dedications at panhellenic sanctuaries, Sarah Harrell argued that these dedications present the Deinomenids not as kings or tyrants but as private citizens.[45] In contrast to Pindar's epinicians, the dedicatory inscriptions of which we know never mention a constitutional position for Gelon or Hieron. I would rather envision the dedicants as individuals than "private citizens." As Harrell herself shows, such inscriptions almost never mentioned the status of the dedicant. Prior to the successor kings to Alexander neither dedications nor letters paraded

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[42] See Asheri 1991–1992: 60–61; Green 2006: 78 n. 99; cf. Harrell 2006: 121–123. See Feeney 2007: 43–44 for Aristotle's refusal to consider this temporal significance meaningful (*Poetics* 1459a24–27).

[43] Gauthier 1966: 25–29; Krumeich 1991: 40 n. 22; Zahrnt 1993: 378–384. See also Feeney 2007: 45–46 for this narrative as part of larger Sicilian efforts to "put themselves on the map."

[44] Luraghi 1994: 364 sets Gelon's military intervention at Himera in an interesting perspective: ". . . la tirannide di Gelone non fu militarista per rispondere alla minaccia punica, ma al contrario . . . Gelone affrontò l'armata di Amilcare, e in generale i Dinomenidi ebbero una politica imperialista perché avevono bisogno della Guerra. . . ."

[45] Harrell 2002: 450–455.

the title of king or ruler; Alexander's victory dedication at Delphi after his victory at the Granikos River mentioned "Alexander and the Greeks," and there would have been no temptation to think of Alexander as a private citizen.[46] If silence on the matter of one's position within the city was standard dedicatory practice, it is unlikely that the Deinomenids were engaging in a modest policy of effacing their tyranny at a panhellenic location, although Harrell is certainly justified in pointing out the contrast with Pindaric usage.[47] If we focus on Gelon the individual, the contrast between his preserved dedication and the collective boast we see on the Plataia tripod is striking. The only preserved inscription on Base A simply mentions that Gelon made the dedication, whereas the serpent column listed the names of the participating states. It is attractive to read this difference as a pointed assertion of individual responsibility aimed at the widest possible audience and contrasting fundamentally with the communal list on the Plataia tripod.[48] Panhellenism meets tyrannical megalomania.

About Gelon's self-promotion I have few doubts, but it is possible that the dynamics of reception here are more complex than we might at first imagine. The communal inscription on the serpent column was not the first to grace the monument. Pausanias, regent of Sparta and victor of Plataia, had made his own inscription on it in his own honor (Thuc. 1.132.2: "Pausanias, the leader of the Greeks dedicated this monument to Phoibos after he destroyed the host of the Medes.") although it was soon erased.[49] Compared to this masterpiece of modesty, Gelon's inscription (unless supplemented elsewhere on the monument) seems quite moderate. We do not know at what point Pausanias' couplet was inscribed, nor when it was erased and the names of the participating cities added, so any conclusions must be tentative.[50] Still, it is not impossible or even unlikely that for a short time the two inscriptions stared at each other across the east end of the temple terrace. Each changed its meaning and its implications according to the dedications that surrounded it. Each was liable to damage, erasure, and supplementation that would, again, alter or destroy its significance, and the same applies to the monuments on which they were inscribed.

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[46] Aymard 1967: 86–87, 90–91 ("Les dirigeants républicains grecs considèrent donc les hommes et leurs situations personnelles, non pas leurs titres").

[47] Cf. her observations on the Polyzalos base and Pausanias' intervention on the Plataia monument (2002: 458–461).

[48] Jacquemin 1999: 252; Harrell 2006: 127–128.

[49] See further Chapter 4.

[50] Gauer 1968: 93 opts for 477, though others choose 478.

In the case of Gelon's tripod, supplementation seems always to have been part of the plan. As noted, the foundation below the two bases is continuous, indicating that, even though the two bases above are physically distinct and chronologically separate (as one can see from their letter forms), the monument was always intended to have more than one dedication on it.[51] The evidence of Athenaeus cited above can be combined with Bacchylides 3.17–21, who refers in his ode celebrating Hieron's chariot victory at Olympia in 468 to the gold flashing from the lofty tripods before the temple at Delphi. In 468, then, there were at least two tripods at Delphi and these could be associated with Hieron. The damage to the inscription on Base B, combined with the erasure, means that we cannot be certain of the dedicant, but most interpreters have connected the base with a dedication by Hieron. But a dedication for what? Given that the monument must always have been intended to hold at least two dedications, it seems plausible that in the first instance, Gelon intended a memorial to Deinomenid dynastic might as expressed in the victory at Himera. Having made plans for his own tripod, he then left it to his younger brother and next in command, Hieron, to erect his own. Hieron's dedication was not immediate, whether because, as Theopompus would have it, he had trouble finding the gold or because Gelon's death and his own transferral to Syracuse in 478 left him little time for the task. By the time his tripod and Nike were erected, the historical circumstances had changed because of Hieron's defeat of the Etruscans at Kumai in 474. At Olympia Hieron dedicated at least three enemy helmets captured in that battle, just as his brother had dedicated linen corselets taken from the foe at Himera.[52] As we shall see in more detail in Chapter 8 on Pindar's *Pythian* 1, this second victory over barbarian foes encouraged Hieron and those tasked with the crafting of his image to conceive the Battles of Himera and Kumai as a group, and more importantly, as part of a system including the mainland victories against the Persians. Pindar's poem prays for peace after Kumai, and then

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[51] If Keramopullos's reconstruction (1909: 42–44) is correct, two additional bases (for Polyzalos and Thrasyboulos?) may have been added later, although it is impossible (*pace* Adornato 2005: 11, hypothesis a) that the first phase of the monument had three bases, since Keramopullos's Base Γ was, as he reports, clearly added in a second phase (if at all). For Luraghi 1994: 316–317 and Privitera 2003: 402–403, however, the unified foundation is not decisive. For Luraghi it proves only that the foundation allowed something else to be added; for Privitera the possibility of remodeling renders conclusions about the original monument problematic.

[52] Two helmets were of an Etruscan type (now in the British Museum [GR 1823.6–10.1] and the Museum at Olympia). Another, a Corinthian type, is also now in the Museum at Olympia. All three carry almost the same inscription: "Hieron, son of Deinomenes, and the Syracusans, [dedicated] to Zeus Etruscan [spoils] from Kumai." The helmet in the British Museum abbreviates "Etruscan." See Hansen 1990 for an attempt to read "Zeus tyrannos" here.

mentions in quick succession the Battles of Salamis, Plataia, and Himera (*P*. 1.71–80). The didactic synchronism between Himera and Salamis (or Thermopylai) had not yet been constructed, but its elements were being assembled.[53] By the late 470s the tripod monument had acquired an additional layer of meaning. It would be gratifying to know whether the erasure on Base B was associated with adjustments to the monument by Hieron, or whether it marks editorial intervention by others after the fall of the tyranny designed to blot out a particularly obnoxious claim to panhellenic preeminence. Either is possible, and one might well think that Hieron would have reinscribed the base over the erasure rather than simply erasing two lines, but this is speculation.[54]

Hieron's tripod and Nike may have been further contextualized by other additions to the monument. It is possible that the monument was extended to the left at some point in the 470s, and included two further tripods, perhaps for the other two Deinomenid brothers.[55] As we shall shortly see, there may also have been additional dedicatory epigrams. We hear in Plutarch (*De Pyth. or.* 8, 397e) of a bronze column erected by Hieron in the upper part of the sanctuary that fell down on the day of his death, though we should perhaps identify this with the column that would have supported his gold tripod and Nike. Even more interesting are the indications that Hieron dedicated a statue of himself in the sanctuary. The evidence is in the same passage of Plutarch, which tells how the narrator and his interlocutors were strolling in the lower part of the sanctuary and came to the statue of "Hieron the tyrant." We cannot be sure that this was a statue of the fifth-century Hieron and not his fourth-century namesake, but a stone was discovered in the lower part of the sanctuary with the name "Hiaron" in letters belonging to the first half of the fifth century.[56] There is ample evidence, then, that Hieron actively continued his brother's monumental agenda at Delphi. On the maximalist reconstruction of the

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[53.] Gauthier 1966: 5–6; Asheri 1991–92: 56–57; Zahrnt 1993: 369–371; Harrell 2006: 132.

[54.] Adornato 2005: 411, 414 proposes that the erasure was executed shortly before the inscription of the two preserved lines, which would imply that the erasure was Deinomenid, but I am not sure of the grounds for this suggestion. Keramopullos 1909: 48 n. 1 points out that the preserved inscription is at the top of the block in a position corresponding to Gelon's inscription on Base A, and thus that the preserved inscription may well be the original one. In this case, the erased inscription will have been later (or contemporaneous? cf. Krumeich 1991: 48). Scott 2010: 90 suggests that the inscription on Base B (as well as that on the base of the Deinomenid chariot group on the north of the terrace) was "altered over time to reflect the current political reality" but unfortunately does not give any details.

[55.] Keramopullos 1909: 42–44; Jacquemin 1999: 252–253.

[56.] Amandry 1987: 90–91. Jacquemin 1999: 253 notes that the statue of Hieron and that of Alexander I of Macedon are linked by a concentration on personal image.

tripod dedication, the monument will have stood as a powerful statement of dynastic power: three or four (elevated) tripods proclaiming both individual eminence and collective solidarity.[57] Most importantly, this was a dynamic monument, one that changed its meaning with the course of events and encapsulated in its various vicissitudes the opportunistic activities of the Deinomenid tyrants of Syracuse.[58]

One final complexity regarding the reconstruction of the tripod monument is afforded by the existence of two versions of an epigram preserved in the literary tradition. We shall be returning to the rhetoric of these epigrams in Chapter 4, but the present concern is how (if genuine) they might reflect the history of reception of the monument. The first version, found in the scholion to Pindar *P*. 1.152b, reports, "They say that Gelon, in good will towards his brothers, dedicated golden tripods to the god, inscribing the following words:

> Φημὶ Γέλων', Ἱέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,
> παῖδας Δεινομένευς τοὺς τρίποδας θέμεναι,
> βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη, πολλὴν δὲ παρασχεῖν
> σύμμαχον Ἕλλησιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.
>
> I declare that Gelon, Hieron, Polyzalos, and Thrasyboulos,
> the children of Deinomenes, dedicated the tripods
> having conquered barbarian races, and provided a great
> hand of alliance towards freedom for the Greeks."

The second version comes from the *Anthologia Palatina* 6.214, where it is attributed to Simonides. It has an entirely different second couplet (referring to the weight of the dedication) and only one tripod at the end of line 2:

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[57] Although I agree with Adornato 2005: 411–415 that Hieron's dedication may have modified the significance of the monument after 474, I cannot follow him when he suggests that Hieron may have appropriated Base B for his own use from an original dedication personal to Gelon. In his interpretation, Gelon's monument should not be connected with Gelon's victory at Himera but with his refoundation of Syracuse in 485. I have listed above my reasons for thinking the monument should be seen as a response to Himera, but whatever the event with which it is associated, it is hard to imagine why Gelon would craft an original monument with two side-by-side tripods and presumably two inscriptions, one of which (and not the central one) would be appropriated by his brother (presumably with the connivance of the sanctuary authorities). As Homolle observed (1898: 213), if Gelon had erected both columns, he would surely have had one large dedicatory inscription, not two small ones.

[58] Amandry 1987: 89 enthuses of the monument: "Ainsi se materialisait, devant le temple d'Apollon Pythien, le parallélisme établi par les historiens anciens entre les victoires remportées sur les Barbares d'Orient et d'Occident." Although this may not have been true in 478, it was beginning to be so in 470 and got truer as the fifth and fourth centuries progressed.

Φημὶ Γέλων', Ἱέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,
παῖδας Δεινομένευς, τὸν τρίποδ' ἀνθέμεναι
ἐξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων
†δαρετίου χρυσοῦ, τᾶς δεκάτας δεκάταν.

I declare that Gelon, Hieron, Polyzalos, and Thrasyboulos,
the children of Deinomenes, dedicated the tripod
from one hundred *litrai* and fifty talents
of . . . gold, a tenth of a tenth.

At first, the epigram was read as a valuable testimonium that could be brought into harmony with the archaeological remains. Homolle believed that the scholiast's version was genuine and that the multiple preserved bases associated with the monument showed that reading plural tripods was correct. Keramopullos used the plural tripods of the scholiast's epigram to support a reconstruction of the monument with four bases and accepted only the first couplet.[59] More recent opinion has for the most part viewed the epigrams with greater suspicion chiefly because of the problems that arise if we place their origin in the fifth century; for Page it seemed probable that the first couplet of the epigram was a "late literary exercise."[60]

To take first the scholiast's epigram with its plural dedicants, plural tripods, and helping hand toward freedom: Are we to make it contemporary with Gelon's initial dedication? If so, the notion of a helping hand toward freedom is anachronistic on most understandings of Gelon's strategy (see above). Moreover, if the base originally held only Gelon's tripod, the mention of plural tripods in the epigram makes no sense; Hieron's tripod was added later and the other two bases, if they are indeed to be associated with the monument, were also not original. What, moreover, are we to make of the inscription currently on Base A, which names Gelon as sole dedicator? Where on the monument would the epigram have been located? If we associate the epigram with a second phase, perhaps by Hieron after the battle of Kumai, things become a little easier: we can now be comfortable with plural tripods and can connect the helping hand rhetoric with the rhetoric of the late 470s that we see reflected in Pindar's *Pythian* 1 (Chapter 8). In the case of the version found in the *Anthology* we must ask (1) why the four Deinomenids would have dedicated one tripod (given the existing inscription, which makes the dedication Gelon's); (2) whether

[59] Homolle 1898: 220–223; Keramopullos 1909: 45–46.
[60] Page 1981: 248; cf. Bravo 1993: 450–452.

fifty talents, one hundred *litrai*, is an appropriate weight for one tripod (it is not, though it might well make four tripods); (3) what idea lies behind the problematic *daretiou* in line four (a fertile ground for scholarly speculation); and (4) what is meant by a tenth of a tenth. None of these questions has a satisfactory answer. The second couplet—although it is not out of the question to mention weight, material, and a tithe offering—presents problems of interpretation that have as yet no generally accepted solution.[61]

It is unlikely that we shall ever know whether a version of the epigram stood on the monument. The objection that there is no place for it to go is not a strong one, given the vicissitudes of the stones. Even though individual dedications are preserved, these do not exclude the addition of an epigram or epigrams that might have reconceptualized the dedication or responded to it as a whole. Given the uncertainty about whether the epigram belonged on the monument, we should perhaps focus instead on the light shed by the epigram on the tripod's reception.[62] It is striking that one major difference between the two versions of the epigram recapitulates the physical transformation of the monument over the course of a decade. It had first one tripod and then at least two. One might also suggest that it changed from a thank-offering for military victory characterized by an emphasis on expense and monetary value (as we see in Diodorus) to a more complex statement of panhellenic participation and generalized victoriousness (since Hieron, in addition to the victory at Kumai, won several hippic victories at Delphi in the 470s).[63] I am suggesting, then, that the version in the anthology may reflect an initial understanding of the dedication (and the scholiast's version a later, Hieronic, vision). Both versions, surprisingly, are characterized by a dynastic approach to achievement: not what we would have expected given Gelon's solo dedication on Base A, but consonant with the construction of a foundation always intended to hold more than one dedication.[64] Whether or not the epigram ever stood

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[61] Privitera 2003 is a recent and thoughtful attempt to settle the issue. He rejects the idea that the Delphi monument was conceived in terms of multiple dedications, reinterprets Diodorus' information on value to suggest a weight for Gelon's tripod of just under 28 kg, reads δαρεικοῦ (a reference to Persian gold darics) in the last line of the *Anthology* epigram, and interprets the tithe (the "tenth") as a loose reference to offerings that come from (but do not constitute) a tithe offering. Most startlingly, he suggests that the epigram (in the *Anthology* version) was connected with a tripod dedication in Syracuse rather than Delphi.

[62] Krumeich 1991: 59.

[63] Cf. Privitera 2003: 403.

[64] It is perhaps no coincidence that at *P.* 1.79, in an ode focusing on Hieron's individual accomplishments, Pindar refers to the "children of Deinomenes" when speaking of the Battle of Himera.

on the tripod monument, we can understand it, in one or even both of its versions, as a reaction to it.

Before leaving the subject of political dedications it is worthwhile to refer briefly to the possibility that the famous marble "Motya youth" might be associated with Gelon's sculptural program. The statue was discovered in 1979 (C.E.) on the island of Motya in western Sicily (Fig. 0.1), where it had in all likelihood been taken as booty in the late fifth century after a victorious Carthaginian campaign that resulted in the sacking of most Greek Sicilian cities. It portrays a youth in a long, almost transparent robe. His arms are unfortunately missing, and it is therefore uncertain what gestures he was making, although the position of the right shoulder shows that his right arm was raised. The statue is dated on stylistic grounds to 480–460. There has been a lively controversy on how we should interpret the youth,[65] and a full consideration of the problems he presents is, thankfully, outside the scope of my present enquiry, but some recent suggestions do bear presentation here. Many have wanted to see in him a charioteer, pointing out the similarities between his garment and the robe worn by charioteers on Syracusan coinage. If this is correct the statue is clearly connected to Sicilian enthusiasm for chariot racing (see further below), and a suggestive article by Malcolm Bell argued that we should see in the youth either the Emmenid Thrasyboulos of Akragas or the Emmenid charioteer Nikomachos.[66] Caterina Greco has recently proposed a variant of this scenario whereby the charioteer is Pelops (a possibility to which I shall return briefly in Chapter 6).[67] Two other hypotheses, however, may connect the statue with Gelon. John Papadopoulos reconstructs it as a Karneios dancer for Apollo, and less securely, as a representation of Gelon (an interpretation that would fit a program of Dorian cultural politics), while Olga Palagia interprets the youth as a seer, part of a statue group erected by Gelon to celebrate his victory at Himera.[68] No hypothesis can be confirmed, and caution is desirable in the face of temptation to tie a magnificent work to known historical characters and events. Yet it is salutary to be reminded that victory dedications at panhellenic sanctuaries, whether for athletic or military victory, would probably have been matched by local dedications, now lost without trace.

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[65] For a good summary of the history of interpretation, see Papadopoulos forthcoming.
[66] Bell 1995.
[67] Talk delivered at the Getty Villa, Malibu, California, in April 2013: "Una nuova proposta di lettura per la statua di Mozia."
[68] Papadopoulos forthcoming; Palagia 2011.

Architecture

Just as the Battle of Himera was significant for Gelon's politics of dedication at Delphi and Olympia, so too it takes center stage in an assessment of his architectural activity in Sicily. We have already considered Diodorus' report (11.26.7) that after the battle Gelon decked out noteworthy temples to Demeter and Kore at the same time he made his tripod dedication. Not only were these the patron goddesses of the island but the Deinomenids held their hereditary priesthood. One of these temples has been identified with the sanctuary excavated by Giuseppe Voza in the Piazza della Vittoria in Syracuse (the temple is associated with a votive deposit of statuettes representing the two goddesses), although the date of the earliest cult there is uncertain.[69] Diodorus (11.26.2) also tells us that Gelon required the Carthaginians to construct two temples as part of the indemnity they paid after the battle. These were to house two copies of the peace treaty. Although it has sometimes been thought that at least one of these temples should have been located in Carthage, the current consensus is that both were in Sicily, and that Diodorus is referring to the so-called Temple of Victory at Himera and the Temple of Athena in Syracuse.[70] These two temples hold a pivotal place in the history of Western Greek architecture, as marking both a fixed temporal point and a new stylistic impetus. It is, therefore, worthwhile to pause briefly and consider the context out of which they arose and the cultural purposes that may have lain behind their conception.

Monumental architecture in Sicily and Magna Graecia pursued a different course from its mainland counterpart throughout the seventh and sixth centuries. Dieter Mertens has identified a conscious striving for an accumulation of columns, a pursuit of size and monumentality, and a wealth of decoration (which we see in preserved examples of elaborate terracotta revetments) as characteristics of the West Greek style. Western Greek temples are often elongated (thus maximizing the number of columns on the side) and emphasize a frontal approach: instead of a back porch (*opisthodomos*) mirroring the entrance porch (*pronaos*)

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[69] van Compernolle 1992: 67; Mertens 2006: 312. There has been some recent uncertainty about whether Gelon built new temples or merely updated and decorated earlier ones. Gras 1990: 59–60 suggests that Gelon adorned temples that were already venerable. Hinz 1998: 102–107 counsels caution on the identification of the temples in the Piazza della Vittoria with Gelon's temples: the earliest votives associated with the site date from the end of the fifth century, which may (but need not) imply a later date for the beginning of the cult there.

[70] Bonacasa 1982: 295 (following Pugliese Caratelli); Gras 1990: 61; Mertens 2006: 259.

they present an entrance porch leading to a main room (*cella*), with a smaller room (*adyton)* at the back where the cult statue would have been housed.[71] The inhabitants of western colonial foundations also exhibit a certain cosmopolitanism and openness to a variety of influences. Throughout the later part of the sixth century, we see increasing use of Ionic architectural elements on Doric buildings, and this tendency broadens at the end of the century, possibly as a result of the Phokaian colonization of Elea and Massilia.[72] The culmination of these developments may fairly be said to be the Ionic temple that once stood in Syracuse and whose remains are now buried under the current town hall. The temple was, it seems, dedicated to Artemis and had a peristyle of six by fourteen (or sixteen) columns, possibly with a second row of columns on the façade(s). The columns stood on Samian bases and the capitals were also strongly Samian in style.[73] This Samian influence has led to speculation that the temple was worked on by Samian craftsmen who fled the island after the downfall of the tyrant Polykrates in 522. It is to be dated toward the end of the sixth century, when it replaced an earlier archaic temple that was associated with an elaborate triglyph altar.[74] It thus belongs in the final decades of the oligarchic regime of the *gamoroi* in Syracuse. Even Doric Syracuse, then, was open to influences from the east when they could help the city display its wealth and prestige,[75] and with this temple Ionic architecture gains a secure Sicilian foothold and continues to be influential until the second half of the fifth century.

Mysteriously, however, this temple was never completed. In the third decade of the fifth century the sanctuary was completely releveled and other older secondary buildings were dismantled. The reason for this erasure was the construction of a new temple slightly to the south. This building marks, as has been observed, a "new beginning" for Doric architecture in Sicily. It has a peristyle of six by fourteen columns, uses an *opisthodomos* instead of an *adyton*, lacks (seemingly) the interior staircases that characterized so many previous Sicilian temples, and employs refinements such as double angle contraction and (for the first time in Sicily) a curved

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[71] Mertens 1990: 378–380.

[72] Mertens 2006: 242–244.

[73] Mertens 2006: 242–247; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007: 841–843, both comparing the reconstructions by Auberson 1979: 48–51, with plans three, four, and five (six by fourteen columns, with a double *pteron* on at least one short side) and Gullini 1985: 471–473 (six by sixteen columns).

[74] Marconi 2007: 52–53; cf. Auberson 1979: 166–168 on the Samian connections.

[75] See Auberson 1979: 169–172 for further discussion of the relationship between the Greek east and west in the Archaic period.

stylobate.[76] This conception of a Doric temple was already at home on the Greek mainland, but it represented a new model in the west, a model whose only precedent may have been the so-called Temple of Herakles (Temple A) in Akragas (sometimes dated to the 480s).[77] The stylistic discontinuity between this temple and the Ionic temple that preceded it to the north could not be more obtrusive, and this is underlined by the fact that elements from the Ionic temple were built into its Doric successor as spolia. We are fortunate enough to be able to gain an impression of this temple because major portions of it are still standing today, built into the present cathedral (Fig. 2.3). What, then, was the impetus behind this new architectural departure—or rather, who? It was Gelon. This is the famous temple of Athena whose riches were described in a later age by Cicero in his *Verrines* (4.122–124) and that was connected above with the twin temples constructed after the Battle of Himera.

To talk, therefore, about the context out of which the temple arose is to focus on a point not of continuity but of moderate rupture, as the easy cosmopolitanism of the late archaic period is abandoned. The Athenaion's most sympathetic context is not the deconstructed Artemis temple but its

FIGURE 2.3 Temple of Athena in Syracuse (Duomo, Syracuse). Photograph courtesy of Margaret Miles.

[76] van Compernolle 1989: 45–48, 1992: 51–54; Mertens 2006: 260, 269–274.

[77] Mertens in Stazio and Ceccoli 1992: 57–58, Mertens 2006: 260. On the problematic dating of the temple, see Lippolis et al. 2007: 803.

own architectural twin, the "Temple of Victory" at Himera. The city of Himera fell within the sphere of influence of Theron of Akragas, and it was his intervention to expel Terillos tyrant of Himera that had led to the Carthaginian invasion. The dedication of a temple near the site of victory, together with the dedication of a similar temple in Gelon's own city, would be a fitting memorial to Deinomenid and Emmenid military success, and a tangible indication of the alliance between the two powerful tyrants. Certainly the building of both temples was enabled by the massive influx of wealth that followed the battle, partly from slaves and booty, partly from the Carthaginian indemnity. It seems likely that both temples were dedicated to the goddess Athena. This is certain for Syracuse, and probable for Himera; if the temples are truly twins they should be dedicated to the same goddess, and Athena does seem to have been the anti-Carthaginian goddess par excellence.[78] The temple at Himera used a plan almost, but not quite, identical to the Athenaion at Syracuse. Although the proportions of the two cellas are different, both buildings have a peristyle of six by fourteen columns with double angle contraction and an *opisthodomos* (the Himera temple did, however, have staircases in the *pronaos*). The similarities are so striking that it is even possible that both temple plans were, in origin, the work of a single architect. Even if this were so, however, it is clear that the plans diverged during construction. Nicola Bonacasa has seen in the Himera temple an Agrigentine influence (we have already seen that the Temple A in Akragas is the closest forerunner to the twin temples), and this fits well with Mertens' belief that the Himera temple was slightly older and served as a model, subsequently refined when executed in Syracuse.[79]

Another innovative aspect of at least the Himera temple was the presence of pedimental sculpture (unusual in Sicily). The excavator found fragments, both in high relief and in the round, dating stylistically to between 470 and 450. They were concentrated around the western end of the temple. Although it is unclear whether both pediments were decorated, it is reasonable to assume that at least one was. The sculptures included fragments of a draped female on a large scale, male figures of medium scale (possibly heroic combatants), and a lion (or two). The large female may well be a goddess, perhaps Athena, and the presence of a lion may indicate that one of Herakles' labors was portrayed. Alternatives are the Gigantomachy or

[78] Bonacasa 1982: 295; Gras 1990: 62.

[79] Bonacasa 1982: 295–297; Mertens 2006: 266; cf. van Compernolle 1992: 58–59. Luraghi 1994: 319–320 sees the construction in Himera, as well as in Syracuse, as the initiative of Gelon, but this fits uncomfortably with the Agrigentine aspects of its style.

the Sack of Troy (both of these would fit well into a sculptural program emphasizing Greek victory over barbarous opponents).[80] When it comes to the Athena Temple in Syracuse, matters are less clear. We have fragments of a statue of Nike that would probably have constituted the central akroterion, but less to go on when it comes to the pediments. Athenaeus (11.462b) reports a Syracusan ritual that involved sailing away from the city until the shield on the Temple of Athena could not be seen. From this one might infer that the pediment held only a large and reflective shield as a central element, or perhaps that it presented another large Athena with shield.[81]

How are we to assess this architectural activity? There is certainly evidence of a coordinated planning effort, and this becomes even clearer when we add one more temple to the mix: Temple C on the acropolis of Gela, which was constructed in the same period and also dedicated to Athena. It is slightly smaller than but proportionally very similar to the twin temples of Himera and Syracuse and is to be understood as part of the same scheme. If its construction began in the 470s, it would have been presided over either by Hieron (who ruled in Gela after Gelon moved to Syracuse in 485) or Polyzalos (who probably succeeded him there in 478).[82] It is true that the impulse toward this new architectural model may have originated in Akragas with Temple A. Yet when Theron wanted to memorialize his own achievement he chose to do so with a massive and idiosyncratic Temple of Olympian Zeus, complete with an open-air central space and gigantic *atlantes* (anthropomorphic figures) supporting the upper orders. Scholarly opinions differ on whether to date the beginning of work on this temple before or after the Battle of Himera, and the cultural meaning we attribute to the *atlantes* will differ correspondingly: they might be symbolic of the defeat of internal or external (Carthaginian) enemies, or both.[83] The pedimental sculptures on this temple were (Diod. Sic. 13.82.4) a Gigantomachy

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[80] Bonacasa 1982: 291–295, 299–300.

[81] Gras 1990: 63. Clemente Marconi observes (*per litt.*) a difference in architectural idiom between the two temples in terms of figural apparatus (pedimental sculpture at Himera but not, as it seems, at Syracuse) and material (limestone at Himera, partly marble at Syracuse).

[82] van Compernolle 1992: 58, 60; Mertens 2006: 274; Lippolis et al. 2007: 813–814.

[83] For a summary of research on the temple, see Mertens 2006: 261–266. For the pediments, see de Waele 1982; Griffo 1982. On the dating of the beginning of the temple and the meaning to be attributed to the *atlantes*, see Marconi 1997 (with subtle analysis of the mythological implications and pointing out that the reception of the *atlantes* would change as the historical context changed: how could a viewer *not* think of defeated barbarians after Himera, or of an internal enemy of the tyranny—or later of the democracy, for that matter? [2007: 9]) and Vonderstein 2000 (arguing for a date prior to Himera and reading the *atlantes* as expressive of submission to Theron's tyrannical power). The temple certainly seems to have some more archaic elements, which might justify placing it early in Theron's reign (he came to power in 488) or even before, but Mertens 2006: 266 concludes that on the whole a post-480 date is still to be preferred.

on the east and Ilioupersis on the west (and thus may resonate with the pedimental sculpture on the Himera temple). At home, then, Theron wanted to erect something unparalleled and unique, while at Himera he collaborated with Gelon to help formulate a new idiom. Yet it was the Deinomenids who installed this new idiom at the heart of their cities and made it so influential. The construction of Gelon's temple in Syracuse becomes even more noteworthy when we set it against the destruction of the Ionic temple to the north. Whereas in Akragas Theron's unique temple seems to have been preceded by (or at least proceeded in tandem with) an experimental foray into mainland Doric architectural forms, at Syracuse the new Doric idiom shut down experimentation with Ionic elements in the Artemis temple.

It is hard not to see a statement here. One need not claim that Gelon or his advisors had a developed idea of architectural history or the associations of architectural orders to imagine that the Artemis temple was (1) associated with the previous ruling class, the oligarchic *gamoroi*; and (2) associated with models from Ionia in general and Samos in particular. The construction of the Athena temple draws a definite line under past developments and marks a new beginning.[84] Gelon looks not so much to Sicilian cosmopolitanism as to mainland traditions, and he does so at the same time as he orders his Olympia treasury and tripod dedication at Delphi. Mertens is surely right to see this development as the result of a changing self-conception and greater confidence on the part of the western Greeks in general and Gelon in particular, resulting at least in part from a new climate after the Battle of Himera.[85] Gelon intended to remake his city both physically and conceptually. The conceptual work started with the refoundation in 485; new temples may well have been planned even at this early stage, but the battle will have redefined whatever purposes had previously been conceived. We must also, moreover, reckon with the possibility that the temple in Syracuse was not completed by the time of Gelon's death in 478. If so, it will have been Hieron who saw the project through to completion and was there to reap the (intangible) rewards of its prestige.

Syracuse must, indeed, have been undergoing considerable expansion during the reign of Gelon, and probably that of Hieron also. The population expanded greatly with the refoundation, as settlers from Kamarina,

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[84] Mertens 2006: 315 is cautious: "Was es dabei für Syrakus bedeutet, dass im Zusammenhang mit dem Neubau dieses dorisches Tempels offenbar der . . . ionische Tempel aufgegeben . . . wurde, ist noch offen." Auberson 1979: 165, 170, 181–182 explicitly connects the demise of the Ionian temple with a Deinomenid anti-Ionian policy. Gullini 1985: 473 thinks that Gelon found it inopportune to continue to devote resources to work done by Samian craftsmen after his reorganization of the population.

[85] Mertens 2006: 257–258; cf. his comments in Stazio and Ceccoli 1992: 58.

Gela, and Megarian and Euboian territory were brought into the city along with Gelon's mercenaries. The archaic city had centered on Ortygia and spread onto the mainland to the west of the Little Harbor, but in the fifth century it was enlarged even further, beyond the old necropolis of Fusco to the north. This is the area to the west of where the theater is currently located and is a considerable distance from the old town; if habitation was continuous from here to Ortygia, the growth of the city was impressive indeed. The stone theater itself is located adjacent to the sanctuary of Apollo Temenites, which was originally outside the city. Dating the phases of this theater is extremely controversial; it was expanded under Hieron II in the third century B.C., and this work may well have wiped out any remains of an earlier theater on the site. It is possible, however, that a wooden theater stood here in the time of Epicharmus and Aeschylus.[86]

Sicilian Policy

What we have observed so far as we have considered Gelon's Himera dedications at Delphi and Olympia and the temple projects he initiated in Sicily is a striving after monumentality and a desire to broaden the Syracusan cultural perspective. As we shall shortly see, the Deinomenids and their tyrannical predecessors and coevals in the west had always been keen to stress their participation and community in the world of panhellenic athletics. After 480 the scope of their ambition and self-advertisement on the panhellenic stage becomes broader and more systematic. Their cultural policies were also, unsurprisingly, two-faced, designed to make a statement both abroad and at home. Although the planning of the Athena temple looked to the mainstream of mainland architectural fashion, its supersession of the Ionic Artemis temple would have been most meaningful in a Sicilian and Syracusan context. Syracuse is a (re)new(ed) city, thronging with propertied citizens from all over eastern Sicily including various athletic and military superstars (see below), home of at least one rising new temple and others

[86] Polacco and Anti 1981: 166, 177–178 date the earliest phase to the mid sixth century (on the basis of post holes) but assign two later phases to the period of interest to us: Siracusa II (to the time of Epicharmus) and Siracusa III (to the time of Aeschylus' visits, 476–470). The relative smallness of the orchestra of Siracusa II has been connected with a putative lack of chorus in the plays of Epicharmus (Polacco and Anti 1981: 166; cf. Nielsen 2002: 147). A growing contingent of scholars, however, denies any monumental classical remains on the site (Bernabò-Brea 1967; cf. Marconi 2012: 178–180). For another (late Archaic?) performance area to the west of the theater (with seventeen rows of stone-cut seats, accommodating from five hundred to a thousand spectators), see Polacco and Anti 1981: 43; Nielsen 2002: 145; Mertens 2006: 313.

newly decorated with the spoils of victory, and expanding rapidly to the north toward and beyond the archaic theater. Public performances probably took place in this theater (and possibly in the other performance space to the west) in the early years of the century, but such performances will have increased in polish and frequency with Hieron's assembling of an all-star poetic circle in the years following 478. Syracuse was the political hub of Sicily in this period. Although Gelon had won his victory at Himera in alliance with Theron of Akragas, his peace terms with the Carthaginians were mild and allowed them to keep their sphere of influence in western Sicily, perhaps in order to keep them as a counterbalancing force to Theron in the west.[87] Theron was, thenceforth, the junior partner in the alliance, and no other Sicilian power could threaten the Deinomenids.

Gelon's takeover of Syracuse was thus aimed at creating a regional superpower. He acted, moreover, on the level of individuals as well as whole populations. Sicily was a land of opportunity for Greeks from elsewhere who realized how much Gelon's new foundation could do for them. The best example is Glaukos of Karystos, whose statue stood next to Gelon's chariot group in the sanctuary at Olympia.[88] He was a boxer and won numerous panhellenic victories after having started life as a farmer (Paus. 6.10.1–3). We do not know precisely when he came to Sicily, but he was installed as ruler of Kamarina by Gelon and later died there (possibly the victim of Gelonian machinations).[89] One of his subordinates was probably Praxiteles, son of Krinis, who also made a dedication at Olympia. His substantial statue base was inscribed with an epigram still preserved: "Praxiteles dedicated this offering, a citizen of Syracuse and Kamarina. Formerly the son of Krinis lived at Mantinea in Arcadia, rich in flocks, a good man, and this is a memorial of his excellence." Luraghi's plausible reconstruction of Praxiteles' migrations is that he came to Kamarina with Glaukos and then transferred to Syracuse when Gelon merged the population of Kamarina with that of Syracuse in 485.[90]

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87. Sartori 1992: 91; Mafodda 1996: 130.

88. Rausa 1994: 46–47 and Scott 2010: 177 both see the statues of Gelon, Glaukos, and Philon of Corcyra (all created by Glaukias of Aigina) as a group: "a representation of a socio-political family power block" (Scott). It is doubtful, however, that Glaukos of Karystos is identical with the Glaukos who was the father of Philon of Corcyra in the epigram of Simonides reported by Pausanias (6.9.9). Cf. the remarks of Fontenrose 1968: 100 (who, however, dates Glaukos of Karystos to the seventh century).

89. Schol. Aeschin. *in Ctes.* 189; Bekker *Anecd. Gr.* 1.232, with Luraghi 1994: 158, 275–276; Mafodda 1996: 72–73.

90. Dittenberger and Purgold 1896: 389, no. 266. Cf. Dunbabin 1948: 416; Luraghi 1994: 161–162, 293.

Then there is Phormis of Mainalos in Arcadia, again with dedications at Olympia (a whole series of them in fact) and also at Delphi. Pausanias (5.27.1–2) tells us that he came to Sicily to serve with Gelon and then Hieron and distinguished himself in their campaigns. It was because of this that he reached the height of prosperity that allowed him to make multiple dedications at two panhellenic sanctuaries, including two horses each accompanied by a charioteer. On the side of one of the horses an inscription announced "Phormis dedicated me, an Arcadian of Mainalos, now a Syracusan." Another Arcadian who may have moved to Syracuse is Hagesias, who won the mule cart race at Olympia and is celebrated in Pindar's *Olympian* 6 as an Iamid seer and a "co-founder" of Syracuse (*O*. 6.5–6), and whose victory revel is conceived by the poet as moving from Stymphalos in Arcadia to Hieron's court at Syracuse (*O*. 6.98–101).[91] Finally we may mention Astylos of Kroton. This was a runner at Olympia who, according to Pausanias, won three consecutive victories (probably from 488 to 480) in the stade and diaulos, "but because on the latter two occasions he proclaimed himself a Syracusan in order to please Hieron the son of Deinomenes, the people of Kroton decreed that his house should be a prison and they took down his statue that was situated near the temple of Hera Lakinia" (Paus. 6.13.1). Because Hieron was not tyrant in Syracuse in the 480s, it seems preferable to associate this story with Gelon and conclude that Astylos participated in the refoundation of Syracuse in 485.[92] All four of the migrants mentioned were wealthy enough to dedicate at Olympia, and at least three of them were athletes. Clearly Gelon wanted to attract a certain sort of settler in addition to the rank and file, one in whom military and physical expertise were joined with an orientation to the wider Greek world, and one whose public announcement (later memorialized in stone) that he was now a Syracusan would direct international attention to his project. Athletic skills, indeed, were no mere ornament but had civic importance.[93] As Kurke has suggested, the victorious athlete possesses a quasi-magical power that makes him a valuable political talisman.[94] When Gelon induced successful athletes to declare themselves Syracusans, he appropriated their *kudos* for his city. Here, as so often, the Deinomenids

[91] Luraghi 1997; Hornblower 2004: 184–185. We shall return to the problematic labeling of Hagesias as "co-founder" in Chapter 9.
[92] Luraghi 1994: 294–295. According to a papyrus list of Olympic victors, Astylos won the hoplite race in 480 (and depending on how the text is emended, in 476 as well). For discussion of the issues, see Molyneux 1992: 218–220.
[93] Nicosia 1990: 56; Catenacci 1992: 31.
[94] Kurke 1993 (Astylos of Kroton at 152).

anticipate developments usually associated with the Hellenistic period, when various stories originate telling of victorious athletes who changed their citizenship or sold their prizes and public honors to others.[95]

Gelon's intervention in Syracuse also stood in a wider Sicilian context of population movement and refoundation. Two such episodes preceded Gelon, and one more would follow. His predecessor as tyrant of Gela, Hippokrates, conquered and refounded Kamarina around 492 after his failed attempt to gain control of Syracuse. The sources are difficult to interpret, but it is probable that Hippokrates brought new settlers into the existing population, perhaps including those who had served as his mercenaries.[96] In the same period, Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegion on the south coast of Italy (Fig. 0.1) took advantage of turmoil in the city of Zankle at the northeastern tip of the island. At his invitation Samians fleeing from Asia had previously taken the city, and their possession was confirmed by Hippokrates. When the Samians and Anaxilas ceased to be on good terms in 488, he turned them out of the city, settled it afresh, and renamed it Messene. He now controlled (for a while) both sides of the straits separating Sicily from the Italian mainland, and there is some indication that there was skirmishing in the area of the Straits between Gelon and Anaxilas.[97] Gelon thus had both his predecessor and his rival as models in the strategic art of city refoundation. These new foundations served to establish local powerbases (Kamarina solidified Hippokrates' influence on the southeast coast of Sicily and Messene controlled the Straits for Anaxilas on the Sicilian side) and supplied their founders with both political and religious prestige (a subject to which we shall return). Small wonder, then, that Gelon would not be the last to avail himself of the advantages.[98] Two similar events would follow in 476. One involved Theron, following an episode in which the inhabitants of Himera, suffering under the harsh rule of Theron's son Thrasydaios (and apparently ungrateful for their new temple) attempted to revolt. The details of the plot are obscure and the subject of conflicting accounts in Diodorus and the scholia to Pindar. In Diodorus (11.48.6–49.4) the inhabitants try to throw their lot in with Hieron, who betrays them to Theron. In the scholia they plot with Theron's cousins, who in turn try to entangle Hieron. The poet Simonides may even have

[95] von Reden 1997: 167.
[96] Luraghi 1994: 156–165; cf. Vattuone 1994: 99–100.
[97] Mafodda 1996: 61–63.
[98] The sources do not report that Gelon's actions in Syracuse were explicitly called a "refoundation," but as Malkin 1987: 96–97 observes, "his tyranny could certainly have been regarded as a refoundation, especially if we consider the physical *synoikismos* of Syracuse."

been involved in negotiations between Hieron and Theron (schol. Pind. *O*. 2.29c).[99] But whatever the details, the results for the citizens of Himera were unpleasant. The rebels were executed and Theron, "seeing that the city needed settlers after the slaughter of the Himeraians, settled in it and enrolled as citizens Dorians and anyone else who wanted" (Diod. Sic. 11.49.3). This activity cannot really be seen as a refoundation, although we are told that Theron was indeed celebrated with heroic honors after his death (Diod. Sic. 11.53.2);[100] Theron's interests when it came to prestige (cult and otherwise) seem to have centered on his home town, and disciplining the rebellious subjects of a subordinate polis did not offer huge scope.

The same is certainly not true for our final example, Hieron's depopulation and repopulation of Ionian Katane, which transformed it into Dorian Aitna in 476 (Fig. 0.1). This recreation was part of Hieron's programmatic efforts to make a place for himself in Sicilian history. When he inherited Syracuse at Gelon's death in 478, his first task after consolidating his position would have been to continue projects begun by his brother (such as the Athena Temple and his own contribution to the Delphic tripod monument). Gelon's body had been interred outside the city in a modest funeral, although (Diod. Sic. 11.38.2–5) the entire population had accompanied the body, built him a noteworthy tomb, and awarded him "heroic" cult honors. How to match or surpass such a legacy? Military success would be essential (and would be achieved at Kumai), but a position as city founder was no less desirable. Just as Gelon's civic legacy was based on his reorganization of Syracuse, so Hieron's would be connected with Aitna. His procedure was to remove the populations of Katane and Naxos from their cities and settle them in Leontinoi, while simultaneously transplanting five thousand Syracusans and five thousand settlers from the Peloponnese into Katane, now renamed Aitna (Diod. Sic. 11.49.1–2). In contrast to Gelon's actions at Syracuse, Hieron seems to have been manipulating ethnic politics. Apart from the obvious aim of installing his supporters in Syracuse, Gelon's goals were centered on the influx of a large population along with some fairly affluent groups (we remember that it was the propertied classes of Megara and Euboia who were brought to Syracuse, along with the population of Kamarina, half that of Gela, and his mercenaries). Herodotus' comment cited earlier in this chapter

[99] On the complicated and conflicting versions in Diodorus and the scholia to Pindar, see Piccirilli 1971; Luraghi 1994: 251–252; Bonanno 2010: 43–54, 104–116.

[100] See, however, van Compernolle 1992: 28. For Bonanno 2010: 117 Theron's activities at Himera were influenced by Hieron's pro-Dorian policy.

on Gelon's hostility to the *dēmos* has sometimes generated the suspicion that Gelon was moved by class motives, but this must be too simplistic a reading. The thousands of settlers from the mercenaries, Gela, and Kamarina will surely have included members of the *dēmos*, and Gelon disposes of the *dēmos* equally in the case of the Ionian city of Euboia and Dorian Megara.[101] His policy, then, was not based entirely on either class or ethnicity. Hieron, on the other hand, is working with ethnic categories as he concentrates Ionians in one city (Leontinoi), confiscates portions of their territory, and creates a Dorian polis loyal to him in place of an Ionian one.

A complicating factor here is the violent eruption of Mt. Aitna in 476. Christof Boehringer has suggested that the eruption caused the evacuation of the inhabitants of Naxos and Katane to Leontinoi (where, he remarks, there is no evidence that they lived under duress) and the subsequent rebuilding of the city from the ground up after massive destruction. The failure of the sources to mention the eruption in connection with the foundation is merely the result of antityrannical prejudice against Hieron.[102] It does seem plausible that the eruption provided the immediate occasion for the refoundation of Katane, but this does not exclude the likelihood that it provided Hieron with the pretext he needed for his ethnic redesign, which he could thus execute as a rebuilder and without military aggression. The Ionians transplanted to Leontinoi were not so content that they stayed there; they returned to their original homes after the fall of the Deinomenids. The foundation of Aitna was no mere rescue mission but a conscious attempt to create a new city with a new environment and a designer population. Indeed, it is tempting to recall the dismantling of the Ionic temple on Ortygia: Ionic elements removed down to the ground, a relabeling, and a Doric construction rising in its place (one that absorbed those Ionic elements and rendered them unrecognizable). Might we recognize a Deinomenid taste for starting things from scratch? Certainly at Naxos the grid plan of the archaic city was reworked around this time. The deportation of the Naxians to Leontinoi provided a tabula rasa and the new city grid hardly coincides at all with the old. Opinions differ as to whether this new grid should be ascribed to Hieron or to the Naxians who returned there in 461. The excavators adopt the first option, citing the "Doric" strictness of the plan and the use of the Doric foot as a standard of measurement.[103] If

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[101] On Gelon's goals see Seibert 1982–83: 37–38; Vattuone 1994: 97–106; Mafodda 1996: 70–80; Lomas 2006: 97–101, 107 (movement of elites to Syracuse where Gelon could dominate them).
[102] Boehringer 1968: 71–72; cf. Mertens 2006: 351.
[103] Mertens 2006: 344–348.

this is right, we have another example of Hieron's fondness for decisive urban imposition.[104]

The foundation of Aitna was important to Hieron for another reason also. Diodorus (11.49.2) reports that Hieron founded the city "because he was eager to have a ready and substantial source of help for any need that might arise, and also at the same time he wished to get heroic honors from the foundation of a city of ten thousand men." Later he reinforces this when he narrates Hieron's death: "Hieron the king of the Syracusan died in Katane and received heroic honors because he was the founder of the city" (11.66.4). A scholiast to Pindar (*O*. 6.162a) tells us that there was a festival of Zeus Aitnaios in Aitna called the Aitnaia. If this festival included games, then they too would have kept the memory—and cult—of the founder green.[105] As we saw above, Diodorus records the same awarding of honors to Theron and Gelon, except that in their case he contextualizes it differently. After Gelon's death, the people "honoured him with heroic honours" (11.38.5) because he was so beloved, while Theron also "obtained heroic honours" because he had managed his rule well (11.53.2). Hieron, on the other hand, is said to have founded the city specifically because of the desire to have such honors. There is no mention of a beneficent and well-received rule. Indeed, when Diodorus summarizes Deinomenid rule in Sicily at 11.67.2–6 he again emphasizes Gelon's popularity and contrasts him with Hieron, who was "money-loving, violent, and in general utterly estranged from frankness and gentlemanly behavior." Many people, he continues, wished to revolt but restrained themselves because of the good will the Sicilians felt for Gelon. Diodorus is clearly no friend to Hieron, although he is eager to magnify the excellence of Gelon, and he may be influenced by a paradigm that sets up a good and bad brother as mutual foils.[106] Perhaps Gelon was not so mild nor Hieron so villainous as Diodorus (or his source) makes out, but this does leave the issue of how to read his attribution of motive for Hieron's foundation. He may be implying that because Hieron was such a bad king he could not rely on good will to immortalize him in cult, and so turned to city foundation. He may be downplaying Theron's and Gelon's aspirations toward cult because he wants to stress their popularity. I am inclined to credit the connection of Hieron's foundation with his cult aspirations because of the prominence

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[104] Hieron's influence has also been seen in the new city plan of Naples, which dates to around 470 (van Compernolle 1992: 49).

[105] See Slater 1989: 499 on these games and their connection with the portrayal of Pelops in Pindar's *Olympian* 1.

[106] cf. Musti 1990: 15; Luraghi 1994: 324–325.

that Aitna received in Pindar's *Pythian* 1, which, as we shall see, aims at Hieron's immortalization in a slightly different way. He will not have founded the city primarily in order to achieve heroic honors, but the heroic resonances of his action will not have escaped him. In particular, as Currie has shown so well, the early fifth century was a time when the class of people who could aspire to heroic honors was broadening to include athletes and the war dead of the Persian Wars.[107] Because of his military, athletic, and foundational success, Hieron's future was bright (in both the short and the posthumous term); it was a fortunate confluence of events that presented him with his opportunity for strategic and sociopolitical advantage.

Both Deinomenid brothers shared with their tyrannical contemporaries a tendency to manipulate urban populations and intervene in city planning in their own strategic interests. In the case of Hieron we may see this tendency develop in a more clearly cultural direction with the Doric-Ionic divide playing a more explicit role. This is not to invoke a stereotype of a cruel and tyrannical mentality at work in these transformations. As others have pointed out, each instance of enforced migration must be looked at in its own terms and cannot be reduced to a simplified and abstract scheme.[108] There has also been speculation (from antiquity onward) that the populations of Sicily were somehow structurally mobile. This train of thought begins with Thucydides' Alcibiades, often cited in this context: "Their cities have large populations of mixed multitudes; they easily change their citizens and receive new ones" (6.17.2).[109] It is beyond the scope of this present study to make judgments about the structural nature of Sicilian habitation, but this particular concentration of repopulation activities within two decades at the start of the fifth century does suggest that the phenomenon arises from something more than structural causes. The matrix of motivation is indeed complex, but it surely included desire for prestige and for the security of a population personally beholden to its founder (or satisfyingly terrified of him). There does seem to be an association between tyranny and demographic change,[110] one that (for early-fifth-century Sicily

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[107] Currie 2005: 87–157.

[108] See Vattuone 1994: 97–106 for concerns about stereotyping tyrannical activity (particularly on the part of Herodotus). Cf. also Seibert 1982–83: 34–38; van Compernolle 1992: 74 notes that there is, of course, nothing tyrannical in a grid plan: it is the act of refoundation that is significant.

[109] Seibert 1982–83: 34; Vattuone 1994: 84–85, 109.

[110] As Lomas 2006: 101–105 argues. Indeed, if we consider what is involved in large-scale depopulation and repopulation, it seems clear that it is generally only a monarch who has the power to do this. This is why Plato conceives of the foundation of a superior city in terms of autocratic action (*Laws* 4.709e–711a). We might also recall that moving populations was an activity associated with the Persian Great King.

at least) we should conceive in terms of opportunity and opportunism. Ionian Greeks (like the Samians who occupied Zankle or worked on the Ionic temple of Syracuse) had fled westward from Persian advances in Asia Minor, while Sicilian and south-Italian power blocs (Hippokrates/Gelon/Hieron, Theron, Anaxilas, and the Carthaginians active on the west of the island) had become clearer. If we couple this with warfare and (in the case of Hieron) natural disaster, we have a climate well suited to demographic manipulation.

The large-scale movement of populations saw its inverse in the network of dynastic relationships between the major players in Sicily and southern Italy in the early fifth century. The Deinomenids and Emmenids were linked in a complex series of marriage relationships designed to cement their alliance. Gelon married Theron's daughter, Damarete, and on his death she passed to Gelon's younger brother, Polyzalos. Hieron's first wife was a Syracusan, and the result was his son Deinomenes, but he subsequently married first the sister of Anaxilas of Rhegion and then Theron's niece (or perhaps cousin).[111] Theron meanwhile married the daughter of Polyzalos. These marriages between ruling families were matched by ones meant to tie Deinomenid associates closely to the interests of the family. Chromios, who would later be a regent for Hieron's son in Aitna, was related to the Deinomenid brothers by marriage, since he and another member of the Geloan elite, Aristonous, married Gelon's sisters.[112] Chromios is the recipient of Pindar's first and ninth *Nemean* odes, on the latter of which dynastic politics cast a long and murky shadow. This tangled set of alliances reflects the intricacy of elite politics in Sicily in the first part of the fifth century as a number of rulers jockeyed to extend their sphere of influence, and it is used by scholiastic commentators to explain various difficulties they perceive in the Pindaric text.[113] More suggestive, however, is the way marriage politics may have contributed to and participated in a mythologization of tyrannical marriages. Several decades ago, Louis Gernet examined the marriage practices of several tyrants and tyrant clans in the sixth and fifth centuries, among them Peisistratos of Athens in

[111] Schol. Pind. *O.* 2.29c, *P.* 1.112 (reporting on Philistus and Timaeus). For a useful table of Deinomenid marriage relationships, see Bonanno 2010: 115–116.

[112] Schol. Pind. *N.* 9.95. Such politics operated, of course, outside the Deinomenid clan as well. Anaxilas of Rhegion married Kydippe, the daughter of Terillos tyrant of Himera, thus creating the marriage bond that obliged him to aid Terillos when the latter was expelled from Himera by Theron and precipitating the Battle of Himera with the Carthaginians.

[113] Usually unsuccessfully, as when the commentator on *O.* 2.15–17 (Snell) connects the marriage relationships and Deinomenid family strife to Pindar's observation (in an ode to Theron) that not even time can undo deeds performed in accordance with and contrary to justice (Schol. Pind. *O.* 2.29b–c).

the sixth century, Dionysios the first of Syracuse later on in the fifth, and the Deinomenids. He suggested that tyrants in the Greek historical record are characterized by deviant or unorthodox sexuality and that such practices look back to models in heroic legend. The Deinomenids engaged in a dynastic form of endogamy, as successive brothers married the same wife, Damarete.[114] If tyrannical clans do evoke notions of unusual and quasi-mythological marriage relationships, this would provide an enriched context for understanding the mythological sexual transgressions in *Pythians* 2 and 3.

Coinage

A brief examination of some of the issues associated with the coinage of Gelon and Hieron will help to illuminate how they both continued the elite iconography of the past and appropriated it for purposes of prestige and control. Coinage expressed monetary value and could also act as a metaphor for various cultural forces. We shall be concerned here primarily with the iconographic systems through which coins expressed values beyond their worth in an exchange context and with the way these systems called on and sought to establish traditions and polis relationships. Taken together with the following section on athletic competition, this foray into numismatics will complete our picture of the cultural negotiations that characterized Deinomenid Syracuse and against which we should read Pindar's poetry for Hieron. Discussion of the dating of Syracusan issues has long been contentious, and particularly so on the issues surrounding the coins that we should (or should not) associate with the Deinomenid tyranny. In recent years, the picture has become clearer, although some uncertainties remain.[115] What does seem certain is that Deinomenid power was reflected in the issues of the cities under their control, and that we can see reflected in the coinage Gelon's takeover of Syracuse, the enormous influx of wealth that followed the payment of the Carthaginian indemnity after the Battle of Himera, and the foundation of Hieron's Aitna. Enough is known to generate a fruitful discussion on the interchange among victory, wealth, crowns, and value, an interchange that will recur in the epinicians composed for Hieron.

Syracuse probably began minting coins toward the end of the sixth century. Its standard coin was a tetradrachm, and it portrayed on the obverse a chariot moving toward the right, while the reverse had a small female head.

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[114] Gernet 1981; McGlew 1993: 30 with n. 32.

[115] For a lucid summary, see Rutter 1997: 117–132 and Rutter 1998.

Belonging as it did to the years of the ascendency of the aristocratic *gamoroi,* it reflected their interest in chariot racing.[116] Gelon found, then, when he took charge of the city, that one aspect of its self-image was tailor-made for his interests, given his Olympic chariot victory in 488. His time at Gela would have alerted him to the symbolic possibilities of coinage. The first minting there produced coins with a naked warrior mounted on a horse on the obverse and a representation of the River Gelas as a man-headed bull on the reverse. Here again, there was an opportune convergence of the general and the particular. The plains around Gela were well suited to horse rearing, and their cavalry were notable. There is some uncertainty whether Gelon was responsible for this minting. If coinage at Gela was first struck under his predecessor Hippokrates, then the earliest issue will be a canting type with reference to Hippokrates' name. Gelon, however, was also the commander of Hippokrates' cavalry before he came to power as tyrant; if he was responsible for the issue, it will have resonated nicely with his hippic persona.[117]

Once in Syracuse, Gelon made a decisive intervention in the coinage. Until recently this contribution was thought to be defined by the improvement of the existing Syracusan tetradrachm: the head of the nymph Arethusa on the reverse is now full size and surrounded by dolphins; on the obverse a flying Nike crowns the horses (or occasionally the charioteer).[118] This was indeed a significant change, but it was not the only one. It now appears that Gelon's first minting at Syracuse was a tetradrachm of a different type.[119] On the obverse appears a bearded male head with horns and animal ears, on the reverse two parallel grains of barley with the ethnic ΣΥΡΑ (for Syracuse). The male head is identified as that of a river god, and the best candidate is the river Alpheos. The foundation oracle of Syracuse reported in Pausanias (5.7.3) identified Ortygia as the place where the mouth of the Alpheos gushed forth. It has sometimes been thought that this oracle does not predate Pindar (*Nem.* 1.1–4), although Ibycus (*PMGF* 323) is said to have told the story of how the river Alpheos crossed under the sea for the love of the nymph Arethusa and how a golden cup thrown into the Alpheos at Olympia emerged in the fountain of Arethusa on Ortygia.[120]

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[116] Rutter 1997: 115.

[117] Dunbabin 1948: 404. For the coinage, see Jenkins 1970: 21–36; Luraghi 1994: 171. Rutter 1997: 118 together with Arnold-Biucchi and Weiss 2007: 67 date the first issues to the reign of Gelon after the death of Hippokrates.

[118] Knoepfler 1992: 27–28.

[119] For the publication of this exciting coin, see Arnold-Biucchi and Weiss 2007, on which the following discussion is based.

[120] On the problem of chronological precedence here (does the oracle look to Pindar or the reverse?), see Braswell 1992: 33–34. For Ibycus' poem see Barron 1984: 22.

If the river on the coin is the Alpheos, we can place more confidence in the earliness of the foundation oracle, but there are further implications as well. As we have seen, Gelon's engineering of the population of Syracuse on his arrival came close to a refoundation of the city, and the issue of Alpheos tetradrachms would reinforce the foundational aspects of this activity by alluding to foundation traditions. Gelon, moreover, had won an Olympic chariot victory in 488, replicating in his person the connection between Syracuse and Olympia referred to in the coinage. The significance of the grains of barley is more difficult to specify. They may be related to cult or express the fertility of the territory of Syracuse,[121] although it is also tempting to recall the Deinomenids' hereditary priesthood of Demeter and the role it may have played in the restoration of the *gamoroi* to Syracuse at the time of Gelon's takeover.[122]

The Alpheos tetradrachms were a special issue, and Gelon's Syracusan coinage soon returned to the traditional type, improved along the lines referred to above. Yet the increase in the size of the head of Arethusa can now also be seen as a counterpart to the representation of her lover, Alpheos, in the early issue. If one were in the mood for mythological fantasy one could imagine Gelon as the lover and pursuer of Syracuse, celebrating the capture of the long-desired city with a new coinage in the afterglow of his Olympic victory. Even putting aside such intriguing allegories, we should note the resonance of the changes made to the traditional chariot tetradrachms. The addition of a Nike figure is noteworthy. It helps to specify the meaning of the sign: not just aristocratic chariot racing, but victory in the chariot race. The Deinomenids were devoted to and successful at this event. The image thus ties their regime to the past of the city but also makes it, as it were, their personal badge.[123] The Nike figure will reappear on the Deinomenid tripod monument at Delphi and the chariot in multiple statue dedications at Delphi and Olympia. Hippic victory is a sign for all sorts of supremacy.

The coin types I have associated here with Gelon's arrival in Syracuse belonged to (or preceded) Erich Boehringer's Group II. Group III continues on from these coins with no clean break and is characterized by "a

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[121] Arnold-Biucchi and Weiss 2007: 64. Hinz 1998: 55 recommends caution before interpreting the presence of grain on coinage as a reference to the cult of Demeter rather than a more general reference to agricultural fertility.

[122] Hippolytus (*Refutation of All Heresies* 5.8.39–40) speaks of a reaped ear of corn in connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone, proof that grain could be a powerful religious symbol.

[123] See Caltabiano 2005: 536–537 for a speculative interpretation of Deinomenid coinage that makes the chariot driver symbolic of the tyrant.

FIGURE 2.4 Tetradrachm of Syracuse from the "massive issues" (Boehringer Group III). Photograph courtesy of the American Numismatic Society (Acc. #1944.100.55687).

massive amount of coinage . . . produced intensively over quite a short period" (Fig. 2.4).[124] To whom should we attach these coins? For many years, the answer was Gelon—but here we must mire ourselves in the problem of Syracuse's "Damareteion" coinage. Let us start with Diodorus, who reports that after the Battle of Himera the Carthaginians paid Gelon an indemnity of two thousand talents of silver (11.26.2). They also promised to Gelon's wife, Damarete, a golden crown in return for her efforts in brokering the peace. Then "having been crowned with one hundred talents of gold, she struck the coin that was called 'Damareteion' after her. This was worth ten Attic drachmas, but it was called by the Sicilians a 'fifty *litra* piece' because of its weight" (11.26.3).

No gold coin answering this description has ever been discovered, but scholars were keen to find its traces in the numismatic record because it would provide a chronological fixed point of 480. The answer seemed to be the silver decadrachm of Boehringer's Series 12e, which was comparable to the Syracusan tetradrachms but added a running lion in the exergue of the obverse and a crown of olive leaves to the female head on the reverse (Fig. 2.5). Yet dating the decadrachm at 480 caused considerable problems: it comes at the end of the massive coin issues referred to above (Group III) and this would mean that Gelon's most intensive minting took place before 480, even though we would expect this to have happened after 480 when booty and silver from the Carthaginian indemnity was readily available. Another problem was epigraphical. The coins of Series 4 and 5 show a transformation from the use of *koppa* to *kappa* in the ethnic "of the

[124] Rutter 1997: 124.

FIGURE 2.5 Silver decadrachm of Syracuse, the so-called Damareteion. British Museum 1841,0726.287. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Syracusans," and we have reason to believe that this change started when Hieron came to power in 478. Gelon's tripod dedication at Delphi uses a *koppa*, while Hieron's dedication of an Etruscan helmet at Olympia uses *kappa*.[125]

It makes most sense, therefore, to connect the massive issues with Hieron, who used them to finance his activities of the 470s and spread his family's and city's renown throughout the island.[126] He was not yet, of course, a chariot victor in a panhellenic contest, although this was clearly his aspiration,[127] but he was already actively engaged in horse racing. It is in the reign of Hieron, moreover, that a Deinomenid "system" of coinage iconography spreads in Sicilian cities under their control. Gelon's capture of Kamarina had brought minting to an end there, and the case of Naxos was the same. When Gelon died and Hieron moved to Syracuse, the third Deinomenid brother, Polyzalos, became (in all likelihood) ruler in Gela, but a change in the coinage there indicates a close relationship with Syracuse. The city begins to mint tetradrachms with the Syracusan chariot on the obverse and the Geloan man-headed bull on the reverse.[128] Relations between the two brothers may have been strained, but family solidarity and the primacy of Syracuse is expressed in the coins. The same is the case for Leontinoi, the city to which Hieron deported the local

[125] Boehringer 1968: 92; Knoepfler 1992: 12–23; Arnold-Biucchi and Weiss 2007: 66.
[126] Rutter 1997: 126–132; Luraghi 1994: 303.
[127] In Chapter 5 I shall be supporting the contention that *Pythian* 2 was written for a non-panhellenic chariot victory in the early 470s.
[128] For the association between Polyzalos' move to Gela and the new tetradrachms, see Rutter 1997: 131. He cites also similarities in the rendering of the horses and Nike drapery between the obverse no. 26 in Series 4 of Syracuse and obverse no. 32 of Gela.

Ionians when he founded Aitna. The first coinage there begins after 476, and again it displays a close relationship with Syracuse. One series has an obverse with a Syracusan chariot and flying Nike, while the reverse has the head of a lion, a canting sign for the city. This series has die links to Syracuse and the ethnic is written with the Syracusan lambda (rather than the Chalcidian lambda that will characterize the post-independence coinage). Thus Leontinoi and Gela were linked to Syracuse by conformance to Syracusan numismatic types, and the three cities reflect a network of Deinomenid supremacy.[129]

The jewel in Hieron's crown of prestige was, as we have seen, his new city of Aitna. Its predecessor, Katane, had not minted, but a small amount of coinage has been preserved from the new foundation. Two tetradrachms come into question. One (in the Collection Lucien de Hirsch, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels) will not be considered in detail here, since current consensus now dates it after Hieron's death and the expulsion of his colonists from Aitna to a new site at Inessa (also then named Aitna).[130] It has on the obverse a head of Silenos and on the reverse Zeus seated on his throne, holding his thunderbolt, with his eagle perched on a nearby tree. The other tetradrachm (Fig. 2.6) presents on the obverse Athena driving a chariot with a Nike flying toward her to crown her. On the reverse is, again, Zeus on his throne, holding a thunderbolt in one hand and in the other his

FIGURE 2.6 Tetradrachm of Aitna. Photograph courtesy of Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig (now in a private collection).

[129] Cf. Boehringer 1968: 79–80; Jenkins 1970: 25. Manganaro 1974–75: 21 suggests that there was one mint for both cities.

[130] Brussels, de Hirsch coll. 269. Manganaro 1974–75: 33–36 dates it post 450, but see Arnold-Biucchi 1990: 23 for a date ca. 466–65 and Knoepfler 1992: 34 n. 134 for a dating between 465 and 460 (also adopted in Rutter 1997: 128).

scepter, surmounted by an eagle.[131] The style here is more archaic but details of the chariot can be connected with the chariot on Syracusan series 9–11 of Group III, while the chariot rail is paralleled in Syracuse Series 12d. That is to say, the Aitna tetradrachm has close similarities to Syracusan issues connected with Hieron and also shares the Syracusan chariot and Nike type (except that the driver is now Athena rather than a nameless charioteer).[132] Already in the nineteenth century, Adolf Holm suggested that the Zeus here was Zeus Aitnaios, the patron god of the mountain and city referred to in Pindar's *Pythian* 1, and that the portrayal of Zeus reflected a cult image from Aitna. Boehringer refined this by proposing that the coin shows us the god's cult statue from the new city and that this statue is alluded to at the opening of Pindar's *Pythian* 1. This poem celebrates both Hieron's Delphic chariot victory of 470 and the successful foundation of Aitna, and at lines 5–6 the poet describes an eagle slumbering on the scepter of Zeus and Zeus' thunderbolt.[133] Both coin and poem, then, work together in a single program of celebration with imagery multiply determined: the chariot of Syracuse, Hieron's chariot victory, divine protection of and favor toward the tyrant (Athena and Zeus), and the cult statue of Zeus.

This parallel between ode and coin is suggestive and deserves further attention. Both are festival issues; both participate in and look to a broader cultural system that gives them meaning. We have seen how the image of the chariot comes down to Hieron's coinage from the earliest Syracusan issues and is given new content by his achievements. Similarly (and I shall return to this in the conclusion of this chapter) the stock images of celebratory poetry gain particular meaning and value when deployed by Pindar for Hieron. Modern interpreters of athletic victory and its associated practices have emphasized that artifacts such as victory odes or crowns or statues evoke iteratively the moment of victory and the glory it bestows on the victor. A prize such as a victory crown (or of course, various more valuable prizes), it has been proposed, "can be thought of as a kind of precursor to coinage," evoking a legitimate source of value.[134] In the case of the Aitna tetradrachm and *Pythian* 1, we see the convergence of prize,

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[131] In 2011 a silver drachma with a similar reverse was auctioned at Morton and Eden. The obverse shows a naked youth on horseback; cf. Arnold-Biucchi 1990: 22–23.

[132] Boehringer 1968: 79–80; Rutter 1997: 127–129.

[133] Holm 1870, v. 3: 579; Casagrandi 1914: 17–18; Boehringer 1968: 80–81 (a statue is suggested because of the blocks underneath the feet of the throne and the unusual—for coins—representation of steps below the god's feet); cf. Rutter 1997: 128. Holloway 1964: 7–8 maintained that the Zeus must reflect a painting, not a statue, because of its archaic qualities, but I do not see why this is a necessary conclusion.

[134] Brown 2003: 144–145. See also Kurke 1991: 4, 8, 203–209.

ode, and coinage, although this convergence does not exhaust the meaning of either. Indeed, both coin and ode generalize and attempt to make permanent the significance of victory.[135]

If, then, this connection can inform fruitfully a consideration of the Aitna tetradrachm, can it perhaps do the same with the problematic Damareteion coinage? The answer may well be yes. There are two related problems here: the status of Diodorus' account and of the silver decadrachm in Syracuse Series 12e (the so-called Damareteion that cannot any longer be associated with the aftermath of the Battle of Himera; Fig. 2.5). Diodorus has been suspected of confusion and fabrication; the story "smack[s] of the uninformed conjectures of the man in the street."[136] It also seems to project backward from authors such as Timaeus and Philistus a Hellenistic conception of Damarete as a virtuous queen. N. K. Rutter has drawn attention to the motif of "crowning" in Diodorus and has speculated that he is conflating Gelon's wife Damarete with the Damarete who was the daughter of Hieron II (in the third century).[137] It should be stated that such suspicions are not implausible given the vagaries of Diodorus' methodology and treatment of sources. Yet his narrative does express the same dynamic interrelationship of wealth, crowning, prizes, coinage, and victory that we have already seen at work in other Deinomenid coinage, and I have already introduced the notion that there may be a certain Hellenistic flavor in Deinomenid kingship.[138] The ideology that is at stake in the issue of a Damareteion is quite at home in the early fifth century. Were there payments made by the Carthaginians to Gelon? Yes, there were. Did such payments result in coinage? Yes, they did. Did the Carthaginians have personal relationships with members of the Sicilian ruling classes? Yes, they did (Hamilkar the Carthaginian commander was a guest-friend of Anaxilas of Rhegion). Was there an actual crown? Here there is less certainty, but it does not seem impossible. Or perhaps the crown was metaphorical, since it is perfectly acceptable Greek to use the verb "crown" when speaking of giving someone a monetary reward. The mention of an actual crown, then, might be derived from such a metaphor. Could one speak of a Deinomenid being crowned with wealth in a metaphorical sense? One certainly could.

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[135] Cf. von Reden 1997: 165 with n. 75 (cited also at Brown 2003: 158 n. 66), who discusses in this connection coinage from Metapontion and Syracuse (later on in the century) labeled *athla* ("prizes"). On coinage for athletic victories, see also Catenacci 1992: 25–26, Nicholson 2005: 13–14.

[136] Holloway 1964: 2.

[137] Manganaro 1974–75: 30–31 and, in detail, Rutter 1993: 175–187.

[138] See Hornblower 2011: 47–48 for further sampling of this flavor.

Pindar does just that at *Pythian* 1.50, narrating the effects of Deinomenid military victory.

The final element in the puzzle is the silver decadrachm (Fig. 2.5). If it is not the Damareteion, what and when is it? No coin of that denomination had been minted in Sicily previously; it is clearly a significant and festive issue. Although there has been a move to consider it an early coinage of the democracy and date it after the fall of the Deinomenids in 466, there has also been cautious approval for placing it in the final years of Hieron's reign. It seems to come at the end of a lengthy stylistic development rather than making a fresh start and has associations with the Aitna tetradrachm considered above.[139] If it is correctly placed in the late 470s, then it should be read in association with Hieron's victory at Kumai in 474, or even his Pythian victory of 470 or Olympic victory of 468.[140] Indeed, if the arguments above are correct, there need be no one specific referent for the coin. All victories merge together and are subsumed into the traditional chariot image, as well as being emphasized by the wreath of olive leaves (crown) worn by Arethusa on the reverse. This magnificent piece would then be the culminating expression of Hieron's politics of victory.

Athletics

The previous section has already touched on Deinomenid involvement in athletic contests. This too must be set in a Sicilian context. Taking part in athletic games was a traditional Greek aristocratic pastime, and the inhabitants of Sicily were keen enough that they instituted their own versions of the Isthmian and Nemean festivals (the former at Syracuse).[141] The exceptionally intense participation of Hieron in panhellenic hippic contests, however, set a new standard. Keeping and racing horses was an expensive and correspondingly prestigious pursuit. It had one great advantage for a busy aristocrat or tyrant: he needed only to spend his money and did not act as the jockey or (on most occasions) the charioteer.[142] Winning these events, and particularly the chariot race, picked out the victor as both wealthy and favored by the gods. It also reflected glory on his city, so that

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[139] Arnold-Biucchi 1990: 46–47; Knoepfler 1992: 35; Rutter 1997: 124–125, 132.
[140] Boehringer 1968: 96; Knoepfler 1992: 35.
[141] Schol. Pind. *O*. 13.158.
[142] Nicosia 1990: 58, Catenacci 1992: 17. On the social implications of this and on the commodification of the relationship between charioteer/jockey and owner, see Nicholson 2003: 102.

it could be represented as a kind of civic benefaction.[143] In the case of the tyrant, who embodied his city, victory marked the moment of maximum interpenetration between the spheres of individual, clan, and polis,[144] a fusion we shall see at work most clearly in *Pythian* 1. There is, indeed, an interesting correlation between tyranny and victory in the games. With the exception of the Corinthian Cypselids, all important tyrannical houses had at least one panhellenic success, and in some cases there seems to be a connection between an individual or a clan's rise to tyrannical power and triumph in the games.[145] Clearly such triumph could function as either a precondition or an endorsement of the acquisition of autocratic power.

Hippic competition was exceptionally important in Sicily. The landscape was well suited, and we have already seen how central the chariot team was to the self-presentation of Syracuse through its coinage. It is no coincidence that equestrian temple akroteria were popular in Syracuse in the Archaic period (and were possibly invented there) and spread elsewhere in Sicily as well.[146] Sicilian victors were well represented in hippic victories at Olympia. This tradition was especially prominent in the years between 508 and 461, when one-third of the twenty-four known hippic victors at Olympia were Sicilian.[147] Even more notable was the connection between Sicilian tyranny and the horse events. A bronze plaque from Olympia with a dedication to Zeus by Pantares of Gela may commemorate (depending on its restoration) a hippic victory there, and it is tempting to connect this Pantares with the Pantares mentioned in Herodotus (7.154) as the father of the late-sixth-century tyrants Kleander and Hippokrates.[148] In the years that follow we find victories by the Emmenids, the Deinomenids and their henchmen, and Anaxilas of Rhegion in a variety of (mostly panhellenic) venues. The victories are set out in the table on the following page.

Deinomenid participation is indeed striking, especially in the 470s. Also notable is the focus of Gelon and Hieron on the major panhellenic contests at Delphi and Olympia (with a possible exception for Hieron's reconstructed chariot entry at the Theban Iolaia, a problem we shall take up in Chapter 5). Underlings such as Hagesias and Chromios either enter a less

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143. On athletic victory as a civic benefit and the systems of reciprocity that linked the victor to his city, see Kurke 1991: 163–194.
144. Catenacci 1992: 27–28; Nicosia 1990: 59.
145. Nagy 1990: 156–157; Kurke 1991: 178–180; Catenacci 1992: 16–18.
146. Marconi 2007: 46–48.
147. Nicosia 1990: 60 observes that the tyrant wins as individual with respect to his internal community but as head of his community in the eyes of the external world. See Phillip 1992 for discussion of the importance of Olympia in particular to the western Greeks.
148. Ebert 1972: 44–46; Dubois 1989: 150–151 (no. 132).

DATE	VICTOR	EVENT	GAMES
490	Xenokrates of Akragas	Chariot race	Pythian
488	Gelon of Gela	Chariot race	Olympic
484/480	Anaxilas of Rhegion	Mule race	Olympic
482	Hieron of Gela	Horse race	Pythian
[478/474]	Polyzalos of Gela	Chariot race	Pythian]
478	Hieron of Syracuse	Horse race	Pythian
477?	Hieron of Syracuse	Chariot race	Theban Iolaia?
476	Hieron of Syracuse	Horse race	Olympic
476	Theron of Akragas	Chariot race	Olympic
476?	Xenokrates of Akragas	Chariot race	Isthmian
470s?	Xenokrates of Akragas	Chariot race	Panathenaia
After 476?	Chromios of Aitna	Chariot race	Sikyonian Pythia
After 474	Chromios of Aitna/Syracuse	Chariot race	Nemean
472	Hieron of Syracuse	Horse race	Olympic
470	Hieron of Aitna/Syracuse	Chariot race	Pythian
472/468?	Hagesias of Syracuse	Mule race	Olympic
468	Hieron of Syracuse	Chariot race	Olympic

prestigious contest (Hagesias' mule race at Olympia) or compete in the chariot race at less prestigious games (Chromios at Nemea and Sikyon).[149] We can compare to this phenomenon the Emmenid distribution of victories. Before Theron becomes tyrant in Akragas in 488, his brother Xenokrates wins a Pythian chariot victory. After Theron is tyrant, Xenokrates wins at the Isthmian Games in the same year (probably) as Theron celebrates his Olympic chariot triumph (the date of his victory at the Panathenaia is uncertain).[150] The pattern of Deinomenid and Emmenid victories has given rise to the plausible speculation that the ruling families of Syracuse and Akragas did not compete against members of the other family.[151] Even given these niceties, however (or perhaps because of them), Sicilian presence and success on the mainland in the decade starting in 478 is obtrusive, a powerful statement of the status and ambitions of the regional monarchs.

These victories were celebrated in multiple media: poetry, monuments, and (to some extent) coinage. We have already considered the flying Nike on Syracusan tetradrachms as a reflection of Gelon's athletic achievement. Anaxilas of Rhegion issued tetradrachms (on the Attic standard)

[149] Catenacci 1992: 31; cf. Nicholson 2005: 83. On the problematic status of the mule-cart race, see Griffith 2006: 237–238.
[150] On the dating of Emmenid victories, see Bell 1995: 18–20.
[151] Bell 1995: 18.

after his victory in the mule-cart race with the mule cart itself represented on the obverse, and this type was common both to Rhegion itself and to Anaxilas' new foundation of Messene.[152] A recent interpretation has seen these coins as evidence of a pointed subordination to Gelon and Syracuse: Syracuse also minted on the Attic standard and the mule-cart design echoed Syracusan tetradrachms.[153] Yet a different explanation is preferable, especially given the uncertain timing of Anaxilas' victory. This has been dated to both 484 and 480. If 484 is correct, it is obviously implausible to interpret the mule-cart coins issue as expressing subordination to Syracuse. Yet even in 480 Anaxilas was locked in conflict with Gelon over Himera. His decision to raise and train mules and then to enter the race must precede any later capitulation to the tyrant of Syracuse, and indeed Anaxilas was still (ineffectively) causing trouble for Hieron several years later. This race seems to have been something of a west Greek specialty, perhaps the province of "upwardly-mobile tyrants" such as Anaxilas.[154] The echoing of a Syracusan design need not express subordination, but rather rivalry and appropriation.

Poetic memorialization of success at the games had a history traceable at least as far back as Ibycus.[155] In the years under consideration here, the main poetic players were Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides. Simonides wrote an ode for Anaxilas' mule-cart victory, and probably for Xenokrates' Isthmian chariot victory of 476 (fr. 513 *PMG*), ground also trodden by Pindar in *Isthmian* 2. It has been also been suggested that Simonides celebrated Gelon's Olympic chariot victory of 488 (though this is speculation).[156] Bacchylides' commissions seem to have been more focused on Hieron. In addition to a sympotic *enkomion* (fr. 20C), he wrote odes for Hieron's victory in the Olympic horse race in 476 (Bacch. 5), in the Pythian chariot race of 470 (Bacch. 4), and in the Olympic chariot race of 468 (Bacch. 3), overlapping with Pindar in the first two of these commissions. Pindar worked for both the Emmenids of Akragas and the Deinomenids of Syracuse. His second and third *Olympians* were composed for Theron's Olympic chariot victory of 476 and *Pythian* 6 for Xenokrates' Pythian

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[152] Rutter 1997: 119–120.
[153] Nicholson 2005: 83.
[154] Nicosia 1990: 57; quote from Griffith 2006: 237. On the dating of the Olympic victory and the coinage, see Arnold-Biucchi 1990: 18 (preferring 480); Luraghi 1994: 219–222 (preferring 484).
[155] Rawles 2012.
[156] Ode for Xenokrates: schol. Pind. *I.* 2 insc. a (Podlecki 1979: 7, however, discounts this testimonium). Celebration of Gelon's Olympic victory: Severyns 1933: 75–76, but see Molyneux 1992: 220–221.

chariot victory of 490, while *Isthmian* 2 celebrates Xenokrates' Isthmian chariot victory and also looks back to the earlier successes at Delphi and the Panathenaia. Both odes for Xenokrates feature Xenokrates' son, Thrasyboulos, who is also the object of *enkomia* (fr. 124a, b). Pindar's work for Hieron was even more extensive, and analyzing it will form the core of this book: *Olympian* 1, *Pythians* 1–3, fragments of *enkomia* (frr. 124d, 125, 126) and *hyporchemata* (frr. 105–106). The victories of Hieron's associates Chromios and Hagesias are featured respectively in *Nemeans* 1 and 9, and in *Olympian* 6.

As we survey this impressive collection, two important pieces of information emerge. First, the two great ruling families of Sicily engaged in a systematic program of poetic commission whose density goes far beyond mere occasional celebration. Second, this density was expressed in multiple odes for individual victories, as when both Pindar (admittedly later) and Simonides celebrate Xenokrates' Isthmian chariot victory of 476, or both Pindar and Bacchylides compose odes for Hieron's Olympic achievement of the same year. In one instance, the multiple commissions to Pindar and Bacchylides to memorialize Hieron's 470 victory at Delphi (Pind. *P*. 1 and Bacch. 4), it is likely that Bacchylides' shorter ode may have been sung on site, but this does not mean that a victory had only one "official" ode.[157] The Emmenid poetic commissions (by Pindar and possibly by Simonides) create a network of family victory celebrations where Theron, Xenokrates, and Thrasyboulos are linked one with another in terms of their success at the games. In the case of the Deinomenids, the network of victory is more closely focused on Hieron and his associates. Pindar and Bacchylides wrote for Hieron, Simonides probably spent time at his court, and Pindar also wrote for Chromios and Hagesias. Gelon's chariot victory is never mentioned, although his military victory at Himera is alluded to at *Pythian* 1.79–80. Neither Deinomenids nor Emmenids restricted their commissions to epinician odes. The preserved fragments of *enkomia* and *hyporchemata* show that musical festivity was conceived as an integral part of the culture of the tyrannical court, although victory in the games, was, as I shall be arguing throughout this book, a focus in which all types of victory converged.

Success at panhellenic games was expressed most concretely in victory monuments at the sanctuary, and here again the Deinomenids inserted themselves forcefully into the culture of competitive display.[158] Gelon's first monument at a panhellenic sanctuary was not, indeed, his tripod

[157] Cf. Young 1983: 45; Schmidt 1987: 20–21. See Chapter 8.
[158] On "the statue habit" see Smith 2007.

monument but a bronze chariot and (possibly) a portrait statue of Gelon himself in the Altis at Olympia.[159] This group by the sculptor Glaukias of Aigina commemorated his chariot victory of 488 and was still visible in Pausanias' time, although Pausanias (6.9.4–5) mistakenly fails to associate the monument with Gelon the tyrant. Three inscribed blocks from this base survive with the artist's signature, although the precise location where the statue would have stood is uncertain.[160] Also at Olympia was Hieron's chariot group commemorating his Olympic victories (Paus. 6.12.1). This monument was especially interesting because it was, in a sense, a composite. Its centerpiece was a bronze chariot with a man on it, standing for Hieron's chariot win in 468. On each side was a racehorse with a boy jockey, standing for his two victories in the horse race in 476 and 472. Onatas of Aigina made the chariot, and Kalamis the flanking racehorses. The group was dedicated by Hieron's son Deinomenes after Hieron's death, although the epigram that Pausanias preserves (Paus. 8.42.9) makes it clear that plans were already in progress soon after 468:

σόν ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σεμνὸν ἀγῶνα
τεθρίππῳ μὲν ἅπαξ, μουνοκέλητι δὲ δίς,
δῶρα Ἱέρων τάδε σοι ἐχαρίσσατο· παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε
Δεινομένης πατρὸς μνῆμα Συρακοσίου·

Having conquered in your revered contest, Olympian Zeus,
once with the four-horse chariot and twice with the race-horse,
Hieron gave these gifts to you in return. His child Deinomenes
dedicated them as a memorial of his Syracusan father.

The sanctuary at Olympia thus held (in Hieron's intent, though not in his lifetime) two pairs of Deinomenid dedications combining military and athletic success: first Gelon's chariot monument and the offerings in his treasury following the Battle of Himera, and second Hieron's dedication of helmets captured from the Etruscans at Kumai along with, eventually, the chariot group. Gelon's chariot monument and the flanking statue of Glaukos of Karystos (considered earlier) may have showcased Gelon's personal power network;[161] Hieron's group laid claim to a continuing tradition of victory, achieved not just once but three times in one sanctuary alone.

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159. Rausa 1994: 47.
160. Eckstein 1969: 54–60; Nicosia 1990: 56; for the inscription, see Dittenberger and Purgold 1896: 244, no. 143.
161. On these Sicilian chariot groups, see Smith 2007: 124–126. For Gelon's power network, see Rausa 1994: 46–47, with discussion above, n. 88.

The situation at Delphi is more complicated owing to doubts over the attribution of the famous base inscribed with the name of Polyzalos and the even more famous bronze statue of the charioteer that is usually associated with it. Leaving aside for the moment the charioteer statue, let us weigh the possibilities associated with the base. This was excavated on the north of the temple terrace in 1896. Holes on the top of the base mark the position of horses' hooves. The remains of the hexameter dedicatory inscription are still preserved and read as follows:

[Π]ολύζαλός μ' ἀνέθηκ[ε]
Δεινομένευς hυιὸς τ]όν ἄεξ' εὐόνυμ' Ἄπολλ̣[ον]

[P]olyzalos dedicated me
[the son of Deinomenes] Exalt him, honored Apollo.[162]

It is clear, however, that the first line of the inscription overlays an earlier one in erasure, whose traces may still be read:

[ ]Γέλας ἀνέ[θ]εκε [ϝ]ανάσσ[ον]

dedicated me as lord of Gela

We are clearly dealing with a Deinomenid dedication, but what was the reason for the erasure and with what victory should it be associated? It is usually, and reasonably, assumed that when Hieron moved to Syracuse after the death of Gelon, Polyzalos took power in Gela.[163] He had, we recall, married Damarete, Gelon's widow, and thus had a kinship connection with Theron of Akragas. There are indications (in Diodorus and the scholia, to which we shall return) that he and Hieron were not on the best of terms in the 470s. He seems to have died before Hieron did in 467; otherwise he would have taken power in Syracuse on Hieron's death instead of the youngest of the Deinomenid brothers, Thrasydaios. Polyzalos' dedication should thus belong between 478 and 468.

But was he the original dedicant? One reconstruction suggests that he was the "lord of Gela" in the first inscription and that this was changed after the fall of the tyranny at the request of the newly democratic inhabitants of Gela.[164] In that case we will have to imagine an unattested chariot

[162] Hansen 1983: 216–217 (*CEG* #397).
[163] For arguments against, see Maehler 2002: 20; see Luraghi 1994: 322–332 for a detailed consideration of the possibilities and the suggestion that Polyzalos took power in Gela in 474.
[164] Chamoux 1955: 31; Rolley 1990: 294–295; cf. Frickenhaus 1913: 52–58.

victory for him in 478 or 474 (since Hieron won the chariot race at Delphi in 470). Yet Maehler has objected that it is unlikely that Polyzalos' name would be erased from one version (along with its objectionable modifier) only to be reinscribed.[165] Could the first dedicant have been Gelon? He ruled in Gela from 491 to 485. Keramopullos once adopted this expedient, arguing that Gelon won an (otherwise unattested) chariot victory in 486 but delayed erecting the monument, which will have been finished and dedicated shortly after 478 by Polyzalos who (as we have seen) had inherited Gelon's wife and thus perhaps a particular personal obligation. Polyzalos then reinscribed the first line to reflect his participation.[166] Yet the general consensus is that there is no available chariot victory during the period in question: Xenokrates of Akragas won in 490 and in all probability Megakles of Athens did so in 486.[167] The base cannot, therefore, celebrate a chariot victory by Gelon. What then of Hieron? He was given command in Gela when Gelon moved to Syracuse (485–478). Yet Hieron did not win a chariot victory at Delphi until 470, even though he won the horse race in 482 and 478. When Pindar tells of Hieron's Pythian victories at *P*. 3.73–74, dated after 476 and before 470, he does not mention a chariot victory but would most likely have done so if one had already occurred.[168] Perhaps the monument commemorates Hieron's 470 victory but was dedicated by Polyzalos after his (Hieron's) death and then subsequently reinscribed by the democracy with "Lord of Gela" expunged?[169] This solution assumes that Polyzalos did not die in the 470s but outlived Hieron, and also that he felt enough family solidarity to celebrate his brother's victory.

Here we run up against two sets of problems: the dating of the letter forms and the nature of Polyzalos' relationship with Hieron. The letter shapes that appear in the erased first line of the inscription are earlier (formally and not just logically) than those in the second version of the line. They are, moreover, comparable to the forms used in Gelon's tripod monument.[170] Now, it is clear that there was some considerable ferment

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165. Maehler 2002: 20.

166. Keramopullos 1909.

167. I pass over discussion of the problems involved in the dating of Pythiads. For a brief discussion of the issues involved, including the dating of Pindar's *Pythian* 7 for Megakles, see Finglass 2007: 19–26.

168. Keramopullos 1909: 53. He also makes the pertinent observation that it is unlikely that Hieron would have called himself "Lord of Gela" while Gelon was alive.

169. Rolley 1990: 292–295.

170. For a more detailed discussion of the epigraphic and paleographic considerations, see Maehler 2002: 19–20; Adornato 2008: 35–36.

in the matter of alphabets and letter styles during this period. We have already seen that the mid-470s saw the abandonment of koppa for kappa on Syracusan coinage and dedications. The question is how precise we can be with evidence of this type, always bearing in mind the possibility of conservative or innovative (or nonlocal) stonecutters. For Gianfranco Adornato, the similarity of the first version of the inscription to the tripod monument dictates a date in the 480s and makes a dedication by Polyzalos impossible.[171] But do changes in letter forms occur so abruptly and precisely that we can rule out an original dedication in the 470s even if other inscriptions (such as Hieron's helmet dedications at Olympia) use more advanced forms? The forms in the second version of the first line are indeed more advanced, but do they dictate a date in the 460s? It is difficult to be sure and any conclusion must be provisional. For now, it seems best to affirm that the letter forms are not conclusive for a precise date.

What of family relationships? Once again the evidence is complex. Diodorus (11.48.3–8) and the scholia to Pindar (*O*.2.29.b–d, reliant at least in places on Timaeus) tell a story of fraternal jealousy and betrayal in which Hieron, envious of his brother's reputation and popularity, tries to get rid of him by sending him on various military campaigns, in some sources to Sybaris, in others against the local Sikels.[172] There seems to have been some involvement between Polyzalos and the Emmenids, with Polyzalos either fleeing to Theron or becoming involved in a plot by Thrasydaios, Theron's son, to overthrow Hieron. It is probably impossible to extract what happened from the sources at our disposal, and to rehearse the problematic details would be tedious. Suffice it to say that hostility between Hieron and Theron was warded off and, in Diodorus at least, Hieron and Polyzalos were reconciled. How does this narrative affect our interpretation of the base? First, I think it makes it unlikely that Polyzalos dedicated the original version of the monument out of respect for his brother (not, however, impossible, since a show of family solidarity might be a concern in a panhellenic sanctuary). It has been proposed, however, that we should read the erasure and reinscription in light of the reconciliation. Thus Hieron would have "given" a Pythian chariot victory of 482 or 478 to Polyzalos as part of a settlement deal between the two brothers. A comparandum for this extraordinary act of generosity would be the occasion when Kimon of Athens "gave" his Olympic chariot victory to Peisistratos (that is, he had him proclaimed as victor at the games) in

[171] Adornato 2008: 37.
[172] For an analysis of the sources, see Piccirilli 1971.

order to engineer his return to Athens from exile (Hdt. 6.103.2).[173] A variant of this scenario is that Hieron gave Polyzalos the victory because "his brother's need for the monument at a particular juncture might have been more urgent than his own," since Hieron already had enough prestige and monuments.[174]

This approach raises interesting possibilities but must, I think, be rejected. The dynamics of victory and prestige, and indeed of the situation itself, make it unlikely. When Kimon had Peisistratos proclaimed at the games, this was an act of tribute and self-subordination. The link between the kudos of athletic victory and tyranny means that Kimon was reinforcing Peisistratos' authority and prestige at the price of his own aspirations to preeminence. He was allowed to return to Athens because he acknowledged and contributed to the tyrant's lordship. The situation in Sicily was quite different. However we parse the machinations of the Deinomenids and Emmenids in the 470s, Hieron was the ultimate victor and in a superior position with respect to both Theron and Polyzalos. Polyzalos surely had his own ambitions, as the various narratives make clear. It is difficult to conceive that, having reinforced his control over his brother and the Emmenids after a threat of rebellion, Hieron would cede to Polyzalos precisely the prestige that would render him a continued threat and signal his own subordination.[175] A victory in 482 or 478 would have been Hieron's first chariot win, and a prize he did not then regain until 470. He would hardly be likely to give such a thing away in the early years of his reign. No tyrant could ever have enough prestige.

One last option is that the monument did not celebrate a chariot victory at all. Thus Adornato, relying on paleographic considerations, dates the first inscription on the base before 478 and ascribes it either to Gelon or Hieron as "Lord of Gela." Either Gelon or Hieron would have been celebrating his political ascendency at Gela, and in the case of the latter the statue associated with the base would resonate with his victory in the horse race in 482. Polyzalos would then have appropriated the monument when it had

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[173] Maehler 2002: 21.

[174] Smith 2007: 128.

[175] And do so, moreover, at a distance of some time, necessitating the erasure on the base. It is unclear whether such a reattribution of victory would even have been allowed. Kimon's favor to Peisistratos took place at the time of the victory itself. Nor can we use Bacchylides 4 to help, as Maehler 2002 ingeniously suggests. Bacchylides (4.11–13) states that Hieron would have won a fourth Pythian victory if justice had been served, and Maehler (2002: 19 n. 4) wonders whether this could allude to circumstances in which Hieron was "forced . . . to give up or forego a Pythian victory." As we have seen, however, Hieron was in no position to be forced, and even if he were, Bacchylides could hardly portray a voluntary act of Hieron's as a miscarriage of justice.

fallen into "disuse" and reinscribed it with his own name after the death of Hieron.[176] Again, however, it is difficult to imagine how the details of this hypothesis work out. We need to remember, first of all, that any change to the dedication of a monument would probably have needed the approval of the sanctuary officials.[177] In 467 the monument would have been only one or two decades old, and hardly fallen into disuse. Polyzalos could have had no sanctioned claim to make the erasure. The best parallel for a chariot group celebrating something other than a chariot victory is the monument erected on the Athenian Acropolis after a victory over the Chalcidians and Boiotians in 507–6 B.C., described, together with its epigram, by Herodotus (5.77).[178] In this instance the epigram made it clear that the horses were a dedication from the proceeds of a military victory. It has been convincingly argued that athletic imagery is appropriated here to commemorate military victory,[179] and it is not impossible that Gelon or Hieron made a similar appropriation. Yet the Athenian group commemorated a specific victory rather than general political ascendency, and it still seems more likely that an athletic image memorialized an athletic victory. Of course, there are only three marks on the upper surface of the block (corresponding to horses' hooves). If the famous statue of the Delphi charioteer were dissociated from the base, then it might be possible to reconstruct a different equine monument and Hieron's 482 victory in the horse race might again come into play, although the erasure would still be difficult to explain.[180]

All these arguments create an unstable house of cards; more information could easily alter our conclusions. The lack of a firm date for Polyzalos' death is especially frustrating. Without one we cannot even know whether Polyzalos would be alive after Hieron's death to either show family solidarity or slyly appropriate his monument. I have stated above that I find both alternatives unlikely, though the second more unlikely than the first. I must confess that the most plausible scenario still seems to me to be an unattested chariot victory for Polyzalos in 478 or 474. What would be the explanation for the erasure? If the erasure and reinscription was approved

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176. Adornato 2008: 41–42.

177. See Plut. *De Pyth. or.* 13 and Paus. 5.2.3 on the dedications of the Cypselids. Cf. Keramopullos 1909: 53; Maehler 2002: 21.

178. The original epigram survives in part and also in a copy from the mid fifth century (*IG* I^3 501).

179. Keesling 2010: 123–124. The group with Battos (the founder of Cyrene) in a chariot driven by Cyrene and crowned by Libya (Paus. 10.15.6) is another interesting comparandum. It is sometimes connected with the chariot victory of Arkesilaos IV in 462 (Jacquemin 1999: 69), but its sculptor, Amphion of Knossos, is thought to have been active in the second half of the century. In either case, the sculpture postdated the Deinomenid base under consideration here.

180. Adornato 2008: 42–53 argues persuasively that the charioteer in fact belongs to another monument.

by the sanctuary authorities, it is reasonable to think that this would have been the result of an acknowledged inaccuracy or exaggeration, and reasonable again to identify this with the phrase "Lord of Gela." Recent scholarship on the base has emphasized that there is no unequivocal literary evidence to show that Polyzalos was ever tyrant of Gela, although Gelon did leave him a "generalship."[181] It would be a mistake, however, to place too much focus on titulature; this gives constitutional precision to a situation where little was present. A tyrant could be called a tyrant, a king, even an *aisymnētēs*. Polyzalos may have had no "official" title at all and may have spent time both in Gela and in Syracuse. If, however, he did win a chariot victory, it will not have been as a Syracusan, for reasons already considered. Why not then as an inhabitant (and local commander, as his brother had been) in Gela? And if so, the young princeling of ambition may well have been inclined to style himself as "Lord of Gela." To do so, however, was a challenge to Hieron's authority, and the Lord of Syracuse took steps to correct the situation. The erasure may have been allowed precisely because Polyzalos was not, in fact, "Lord of Gela."

This has been a long detour through difficult terrain, so it is worth summarizing what has been achieved. At least two of the Deinomenid brothers took energetic steps to memorialize their equine achievements at panhellenic sanctuaries. Gelon's Olympic group staked his claim to chariot prestige and was linked with at least one monument of an athletically successful associate. Hieron's monument in the same sanctuary went one better as a celebration of lifetime achievement and (in its final installation) a statement of dynastic continuity (however abortive this turned out to be). With Delphi we must obviously be more cautious. What we can say is that claims of lordship, particularly in connection with athletic victory, were obviously fraught, and that (whatever the details) intra-Deinomenid rivalries were played out in the politics of dedication at the sanctuary. The borderlines between political and athletic monuments are difficult to define and even more so to police. If Polyzalos did win and celebrate a chariot victory, the political repercussions would have been serious (note that, to our knowledge, Hieron did not attempt a chariot victory while Gelon was alive), creating a tumult in Sicily that echoed as far away as Delphi. To erect such a monument while Hieron was, during the same years, engaged in finishing the tripod monument a little further to the east of the temple terrace would have been a bold move indeed.

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[181] Maehler 2002: 20; Adornato 2008: 37–39; schol Pind. *O*. 2.29b, d. Luraghi 1994: 322–325 thinks that the *stratēgia* was an invention of Timaeus.

Conclusion: Models

I have just remarked that the boundaries between athletic and political monuments can sometimes be blurred. The point is worth generalizing. An autocratic ruler will desire continuously to construct and reinforce his supremacy using every means at his command. We have seen in some detail how the Deinomenids used both direct action and the politics of representation to achieve this. The list has been long and the material presented here cannot be exhaustive, but we have surveyed (1) the manipulation of individuals and groups at the dynastic and civic level through marriage, enforced migration and city foundation, and attracting elite immigrants of military and athletic skill; (2) programs of monumental architecture; (3) focused participation in mainland athletic contests; (4) programs of dedication at panhellenic sanctuaries for both athletic and politico-military success; and (5) manipulation of coinage issues. These areas are, of course, interrelated; the tyrant sources his prestige and control in a network of practices that configure him as the origin and guarantor of civic life. Athletic victory is no minor aspect but a key component of the system because of its particular signifying qualities. The close relationship between athletic and military success means that the former implies the latter (they are often linked in Pindar's odes). Athletic success implies divine sanction: in *Pythian* 1, it implies Apollo's support for the foundation of Hieron's city of Aitna. It is evoked by the coinage of Syracuse; it is a quality of top-ranked migrants to the Deinomenid court. It is, moreover, not a specifically tyrannical achievement (even though its freight may be ominous) and is thus a safe object of praise when other topics might be controversial. To anticipate one general conclusion of this book: it can function as a metonym for success of all kinds, hence the phenomenon of victory odes with only the most tenuous connection to athletic victory, or the triumphant chariot on the Syracusan tetradrachm.

In what remains of this final section, I would like to bring together some final aspects of Deinomenid kingship that bear on the ideology of Pindar's odes for Hieron and their cultural environment. Both Gelon and Hieron lived during a period when the idea of kingship was being subjected to some pressure, and this issue was particularly pressing after Xerxes' failed invasion of the Greek mainland. Rather than acting as an impious and hubristic autocrat, a Sicilian king must embody Greek values. Here again we see the value of athletic participation, where a king competed on equal terms with other individuals. On the other hand, as Kurke has shown, kingly magnificence (*megaloprepeia*) could be coded as a form of civic

benefaction.[182] Structures of reciprocal obligation between citizens and ruler had a heritage reaching back to the good kings of Homer and Hesiod and will be conjured in Pindar's odes for Hieron. Gelon, if we can believe Diodorus, was a past master at manipulating these codes. In the aftermath of the Battle of Himera, Diodorus tells us, Gelon called an assembly, telling all to attend fully armed,

> but he himself entered the assembly not only unarmed but without a chiton wearing only a cloak. He came forward and spoke in defence of his whole life and his acts towards the Syracusans. The crowd applauded each point of the account, and were especially amazed that he had given himself over unarmed to any who wished to destroy him. The result was that he was far from receiving punishment as a tyrant (τυχεῖν τιμωρίας ὡς τύραννος). Instead with one voice all acclaimed him as benefactor and saviour and king (μιᾷ φωνῇ πάντας ἀποκαλεῖν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ βασιλέα). (Diod. 11.26.5–6)

The passage has sometimes been stigmatized as anachronistic and a function of Diodorus' later sources. It is only Hellenistic kings, we are told, who are proclaimed as savior and benefactor (one thinks, of course, of the Ptolemies).[183] This is possible. Yet once again we are confronted with a Hellenistic feel to the Deinomenid monarchy, and we should entertain the possibility that Gelon's cultural politics were real forerunners of those of his Hellenistic successors. It is by no means certain that terminology such as "savior" and "benefactor" could not be used by a fifth-century crowd.[184] The assembly will have been packed with those who owed him their Syracusan citizenship and land, and it is not difficult to imagine a carefully orchestrated pantomime of humility on Gelon's part, loyalty and gratitude on theirs. This presentation of the monarch as benefactor forcefully activates the paradigm of the good king, and we will hear its echoes in Pindar's odes for Hieron (so far from being one of the great sinners of *Olympian* 1 and *Pythians* 1–3, he is called a "gentle" [*P.* 3.71] king). It must be read in the context of Diodorus' generally laudatory picture of Gelon, but it likely reflects with some accuracy one aspect of the ideological climate of Syracuse in the early fifth century.

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[182] Kurke 1991: 164–194, cf. 219.

[183] Zahrnt 1993: 387; Rutter 1993: 176; Bravo 1993: 84.

[184] See Currie's excellent discussion (2005: 170–171) of fifth-century precedents for the terminology here, and also the discussion of Mafodda 1996: 86–87. Cf. Hornblower 2011: 47–48 "Diodorus' information . . . was possibly false; but his insight was correct."

One other important feature of this environment was Deinomenid sacral authority, an aspect that led Privitera to speak of their sacred kingship.[185] As we saw above, the Deinomenids were said to have come to prominence in Gela when they acquired the hereditary priesthood of Demeter and Persephone after having used the sacred objects of the goddess to restore exiles. Since the entire island of Sicily could be said to be sacred to the two goddesses (Cic. *in Verr.* 4.106), this was a powerful piece of religious capital.[186] I have already mentioned Luraghi's suggestion that when Gelon restored the *gamoroi* in Syracuse he may have taken advantage of this historical precedent and capitalized on the political influence of his religious heritage to align his restoration with Telines'. If this is so, then Gelon will have performed the neat trick of connecting foundation with restoration and constructed a powerful model of civic cohesion. Gelon was also active in building (or renovating) shrines for the two goddesses, as discussed above, and Diodorus tells us (confusingly) that Gelon also had intended to build a temple to Demeter at Aitna, since she had no temple there, but he died before completing it (11.26.7). Since, however, the city of Aitna was not founded until 476 by Hieron, it is unclear what is meant. There may have been a temple to Demeter in Hieron's new city, or in Katane (Aitna's predecessor) or even in Inessa (where Hieron's settlers would flee after the restoration of Katane).[187] Hieron himself is associated with Demeter at Bacchylides 3.1–4 and Pindar *O*. 6.94–96 ("he busies himself with Demeter of the scarlet foot and the festival of her white-horsed daughter").[188]

The connection of the Deinomenids with the cult of Demeter is so strong that it has sometimes been thought that they were responsible for the original dissemination of the cult on the island, although this has now been replaced by a more nuanced view. The scholiast to Pindar *P*. 2.27b tells us that the sons of Deinomenes brought the sacred objects of the goddess to Sicily, and interpreters such as Dunbabin combined this with the account of Telines in Herodotus to paint a picture of essentially Deinomenid diffusion.[189] Gela is the site of the oldest Demeter sanctuary in Sicily, although Megara Hyblaia (with no Deinomenid connections) is also a good candidate for early worship. Archaeology has not yet told its final tale, and new discoveries indicate that, for example, in Syracuse the

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185. Privitera 1980; cf. Mafodda 1996: 90–93.
186. Hinz 1998: 22, 55.
187. White 1964: 266 n. 18; van Compernolle 1992: 38, 67; but see also Privitera 2003: 400–401.
188. Persephone is "white-horsed," we are told by the scholiast, because the chariot that conveyed her back from the underworld was drawn by white horses. The image, as one of triumph, resurrection, and renewal, is well suited to Hieron's equine achievements.
189. Dunbabin 1948: 178–181.

cult of Demeter and Persephone preceded Gelon's refoundation. It seems likely that Demeter came to Sicily with the first settlers, where her worship may have been influenced by the cult of native goddesses. Her cult increased in popularity in the second half of the sixth century, and it is probable that the new settlers brought to Syracuse by Gelon after 485 were also responsible for an increase in the number of Demeter sanctuaries in the city.[190] There is, then, no reason to believe that the Deinomenids were primarily responsible for the diffusion of Demeter cult in Sicily. They do not, however, need to have originated the cult in order to have been active in its manipulation and influential in augmenting its popularity.[191] Just as Gelon and Hieron made the coinage of Syracuse their own, so would they have done with the cult of the goddesses. Indeed, given their family tradition they would have done so with some right. They certainly did not hesitate to exploit the grain of the goddess for economic and political purposes. Besides offering to supply the Greeks with grain in return for command of their forces (Hdt. 7.158), Gelon may have provided grain for Rome (Dionys. Hal. 7.1.4–6).[192] The picture is of a dynasty devoted to the two goddesses (and of course to the other gods as well), rewarded for their piety with prosperity and military success and acting as conduits for divine beneficence. Pindar's punning address to Hieron (fr. 105a) as someone "named for holy rites/temples" (ζαθέων ἱερῶν ἐπώνυμε) depends on this image and would be particularly relevant if the reference were to his role as hierophant of Demeter and Persephone.

The fragment just quoted goes on to call Hieron "father" and "founder of Aitna." The juxtaposition of foundation and "sacred things" brings us back to the heroic aspects of city foundation and its importance for Deinomenid ideology. We have already considered city foundation as an aspect of political demographics, but now we must underline its sacred dimension. As is well known, the position of city-founder was freighted with religious significance. A city-founder received postmortem heroic cult and an honored grave in the center of the city.[193] Hieron's desire for the honors of a founder (if we can believe Diodorus) was not just a wish for fame, but for perpetual cult and the religious authority that came with

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[190.] White 1964: 261 n. 1; cf. Privitera 1980: 401. For the importance of Gelon's new settlers, see Hinz 1998: 110. For a good survey of the general problem, see Hinz 1998: 224–225; Shapiro 2002: 88–90.

[191.] Hinz 1998: 24.

[192.] Sartori 1992: 86; Mafodda 1996: 56–60; Kowalzig 2008: 131–136; but cf. Luraghi 1994: 277, who doubts the historicity of the episode.

[193.] Malkin 1987: 189–200. Cf. Dougherty 1993: 24–26 (97–98 on Hieron); McGlew 1993: 18–24 (178–179 on the Deinomenids).

the position, an authority that might have a real payoff in terms of political power. Whether or not Theron and Gelon were honored explicitly as founders, the award of heroic honors to them bespeaks the authority with which they were endowed. Divine power and approval thus come to the Deinomenids in several forms: their athletic and military victories show that they are favored by the gods, they are priests and hierophants of Demeter and Persephone, they build temples for the gods, they make dedications to the gods, and the bestowal of heroic honors moves them toward the status of heroes and closer to the divine realm. Their wealth, their generosity, and their piety put them into the category of "good kings," whose land thrives in crops (we think of their resources in grain) and in flocks.

Hieron of Gela, Syracuse, and Aitna started his political life in the shadow of an enormously successful brother. His was the problem faced by all inheritors of a tradition: how to make it his own. He inherited two cities that had been ruled by his brother and then founded his own. He took his place on his brother's tripod monument and finished his temples. He relived his brother's Olympic success and chariot dedication. He went out to meet his barbarian foe at Kumai and thus matched Gelon's success at Himera. It was his fate (and probably a deserved one) to be cast as the "bad brother" in a historical narrative that figured Gelon as the "good brother."[194] It is in the realm of poetry that he generated an achievement unmatched (to our knowledge) by his brother: the multiple odes written for him by Pindar and Bacchylides. We will see in these poems a solution sketched to the problem of belatedness outlined above. One way Hieron makes the tyranny of Syracuse his own is by generating thought on the categories of power, victory, and monarchic rule. The poems of Pindar that are the focus of this book spend a good amount of time theorizing the problems and opportunities of autocracy. The environment of the 470s supplies other examples of a systematic and careful framing of Hieron's activities. We see Aitna conceived as a specifically Dorian foundation. We see, after the Battle of Kumai, the first steps in the creation of an overarching strategy that makes both Kumai and its predecessor, Himera, part of a narrative of Greeks against barbarians and the struggle for Greek freedom.

This need not be thought of as an entirely top-down (vertical) imposition of propaganda generated by Hieron. Hieron did not, I imagine, tell Pindar to write an ode focusing on the issues of autocracy or the place

[194] Luraghi 1994: 324–325; Musti 1995: 7–8.

of the Battle of Kumai in contemporary thought. He wanted to be celebrated for his success. This success occurred in an environment of athletic, military, and political victory, and effective celebration would therefore integrate these spheres simply because these spheres could not be separated. We might say, then, that Pindar's poetry for Hieron bears the marks of "integration propaganda," promoting stability and the acceptance of a given set of values.[195] Both Pindar and Hieron inhabited cultural structures that they had to make their own. Pindar, moreover, had to make the commonplaces of praise Hieron's own. Like the chariot on a Syracusan coin or even the worship of Demeter, the formal elements of poetic praise were effective cultural elements waiting to be animated by a particular environment that gave them a particular meaning.

[195] Kennedy 1984: 158, deploying the terminology of Jacques Ellul (1973).

CHAPTER 3 | Poets and Patrons in Hieron's Syracuse

Introduction

Now that the Deinomenids have been framed against western material and cultural traditions of glorification, this chapter tightens the focus to study the politics and practice of Hieron's self-representation in a specifically musical context. After a brief glance at the song culture of the west in general and Syracuse in particular, I turn to a closer consideration of music at Hieron's court, marshaling the evidence for the suggestion that Hieron pursued a coherent goal of attracting musical and intellectual experts to his court in order to gain a reputation as a musical connoisseur and advertise his achievements by (in part) bringing them into parallel with those of mainland cities. These experts included Aeschylus (and perhaps Phrynichus), Epicharmus (already a resident of Syracuse), Xenophanes, Simonides, and of course, Pindar and Bacchylides. Next comes an attempt to specify the conditions with which we should associate the performances of these cultural luminaries, in terms of both performance space and the contentious issues of poetic wages and fees. I shall argue against too rigid a construction of sympotic or festival presentation and for a vision of multiple venues and circumstances. Finally, we shall reflect on the problems associated with poetic performance and rhetoric at a tyrannical court, problems that were pressing at a time when negative paradigms of monarchical power were being precisely formulated and hardening into stereotypes. Pindar deployed the resources of epinician to configure his relationship with Hieron in such a way as to avoid, ostentatiously, the flattery, fear, and envy linked to tyrannical environments. By adopting the role of fearless advisor, he demonstrated Hieron's beneficence and his own authority.

This alignment between patron (and especially kingly patron) and poet is expressed forcefully in Pindar's eagle images, where, in contrast to the Hesiodic paradigm of hawk and nightingale, both the singer and the man of power soar above their cultural environment.

Musical Culture in Syracuse and Its Context

When the first Greek colonists came to the west, they brought with them religious and social traditions that included poetic performance, both choral and monodic. As on the mainland, religious festivals and the symposium were the occasion for song and recitation and a central part of polis life. Many ancient notices preserve details of cult (e.g., Hera and Philoktetes at Sybaris, Dionysus and a variety of heroes at Taras, Achilles at Kroton) for which no good evidence of choral celebration is preserved but might plausibly be reconstructed.[1] Mythological narratives of the wanderings of heroes such as Herakles and Orestes staked a claim for ancient Greek presence in the area. Thus the cult of Apollo (and Artemis) at Rhegion memorialized Orestes as its mythical founder after he bathed himself for purification in local rivers; the god was celebrated there every spring with a sixty-day festival of paeans. Evidence for the early period is scanty, but enough remains that recent work has been able to patch together some indications of the vibrancy and complexity of performance in the west. Local festivals shaped ethnic identity through myth in performance. Triumphalist migratory traditions were constructed (and reconstructed) in response to contemporary pressures.[2] Western poets and choral delegations traveled to the mainland to compete at festivals such as the Pythian games, and this movement was matched by poets from the mainland and the Greek east who toured in the west. The most famous example is the quasi-legendary Arion (Hdt. 1.23–24), who left Corinth for a concert tour in Sicily and Southern Italy in the early sixth century and earned so much money that he tempted the crew of the ship who were taking him back to Corinth to steal it and try to kill him, leading to his miraculous rescue by a dolphin.[3]

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[1] Mancuso 1912: 63; cf. Fileni 1987: 27.

[2] For a good example of the possibilities of this type of analysis, see Kowalzig 2007, chapter 6, on Metapontion in Southern Italy.

[3] For western performance at the Pythian Games, see Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566 F 43a, b) on Eunomus of Lokroi and Ariston of Rhegion, with the discussion in Morgan 2012: 39.

By Pindar's time, the west had already produced two poets of enduring fame: Stesichorus and Ibycus. Stesichorus is associated geographically with Himera, the Chalcidian colony on the north coast of Sicily and later site of Gelon's great victory, although another tradition makes Matauros in southern Italy his birthplace.[4] Canonized by the Alexandrians as one of the nine lyric poets, he was an innovator in both form and content. The first preserved examples of autonomous dactylo-epitrite meter are in Stesichorus, and it may well be that he was the inventor of this meter (which recurs in Pindar as well as in the lyric sections of Attic tragedy).[5] He was an important bridge figure between epic, lyric, and drama, absorbing the heritage of epic and transforming it into lyric narrative that had a taste for strong and dramatic characterization.[6] His poetry, moreover, had political implications. Himerius reported that Stesichorus "not only made Himera free of tyrants but also embellished her in speech" (27.27, *PMGF* 270) and this encouraged Burnett to think that he "sang his city's institutions into existence."[7] It is possible, though not certain, that he traveled on the mainland; certainly his poetry was known and appreciated there. What we know about the activities of Ibycus reinforces a picture of inter-polis mobility. He was born in Rhegion but probably spent time in Sikyon in the Peloponnese, and with greater certainty at the court of Polykrates of Samos (for whom he wrote an encomium) in the second half of the sixth century.[8] Ibycus has recently been seen as an early practitioner of epinician poetry. One poem (*POxy*. 2735, fr. 1 = *PMGF* S166) seems to have been composed in honor of a Spartan *laudandus* and includes athletic success as part of its praise. Two or three other poems also had athletic resonance, as well as the erotic charge for which Ibycus was famous in antiquity.[9] To the extent that this can be reconstructed, he wrote for a broad geographical range of honorands: from Sparta, Samos, and Leontinoi, and possibly from Athens and Syracuse. This last speculation is based on two fragments (*PMGF* 321 and 323) that record him telling the tale of how Syracusan Ortygia was transformed from an island into a peninsula and how its spring, Arethusa, was connected with the river Alpheos at Olympia. The latter comes from his

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[4] Treatments of date and birthplace: West 1971a: 302–306; Willi 2008: 51–54.
[5] Haslam 1974: 52–53.
[6] Arrighetti 1994: 27; Burnett 1988: 119, 126 (on the characterization of Jocasta in *PLille* 76, [*PMGF* 222(b)]: "His impulse will be recognizable in his achieved effects, and these prove to be very much like the effects of tragedy."); cf. Hutchinson 2001: 117–119.
[7] Burnett 1988: 137.
[8] Sikyon: Barron 1969: 132–133, 137; on problems of dating: Barron 1969: 136–137; Gerber 1997: 187–188.
[9] Barron 1984: 20–22; Gerber 1997: 190 with n. 14; Bowie 2009: 123–124; Rawles 2012.

narrative about the "Olympic cup" (which, when thrown into the Alpheos at Olympia, was said to have emerged in Arethusa).[10] These two poets are thus (jointly and severally) representative of broad characteristics: geographic mobility and flexibility for poetic performers, and the use of song to negotiate local (and even panhellenic) identity.

The tale of the Olympic cup brings us to Syracuse itself. Although one tradition narrated that Cynaethus of Chios introduced epic into Syracuse in the sixty-ninth Olympiad (504–01 B.C.), it seems more likely that the earliest colonists of the city would have brought epic narratives with them.[11] Archias, the founder of Syracuse, is associated in some sources with the shadowy figure of the cyclic poet Eumelus of Corinth, and it has been speculated that Eumelus celebrated him poetically as founder.[12] Festive celebration in song would certainly be appropriate to city foundation (a move we see repeated in Pindar's first *Pythian*). Be that as it may, the city enjoyed a rich festival culture. We hear of a Thesmophoria and several other festivals connected with Demeter and Kore, festivals of Artemis *Lyaia* and *Chitonia*, a festival of the Nymphs, a *Hermeia*, and possibly a *Karneia.*[13] Some of these featured what we might call "pre-dramatic" performances. During the ten-day Thesmophoria, participants "imitated the ancient way of life" and indulged in *aischrologia* with each other, the kind of coarse language that had amused the goddess when Persephone was lost (Diod. Sic. 5.4.7). The Syracusan cult of Artemis *Lyaia* is mentioned in connection with a time before the Deinomenids conquered Syracuse when the cattle there were perishing from a plague. The goddess was placated by a ritual in which inhabitants of the countryside moved in procession through the town, entered the "theater," and sang a song of victory; in time this passed into tradition.[14] The origins of this custom are difficult to pin down chronologically; the late sixth century is probably an early estimate and so we are not dealing with a cult practice original with the foundation. Nevertheless, the practice is an indication of the kind of creative ferment that made Syracuse so exciting culturally; the performances for Artemis *Lyaia* were cited in antiquity as a good candidate for the origin

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[10] Barron 1984: 22; cf. Bowie 2009: 123.

[11] Schol. in Pind. *N*. 2.1c. Cf. Mancuso 1912: 35–38; Burnett 1988: 138 with n. 102.

[12] Debiasi 2004: 48–51 with n. 176.

[13] For Demeter's connection with Sicilian theater, see the suggestive essay of Kowalzig 2008. For the festivals of Syracuse, see Polacco and Anti 1981: 26–29.

[14] Sources: Schol. Theoc. *Proleg*. B a; Diom. *G.L.* I p. 486 (Keil); Prob. Verg. *Ecl* Praef. 324–325 (Hagen). On the performances, see Polacco and Anti 1981: 27; Kowalzig 2008: 143 (suggesting a connection between theater and popular rule).

of bucolic poetry. Nor was this the only type of performance associated with Artemis. Athenaeus informs us that Artemis *Chitonia* at Syracuse was celebrated with pipe playing and a dance called "ionic," and Pollux adds that the Sicilians in particular danced an "ionic" dance to this goddess.[15] Finally we may mention the Syracusan predilection for some kind of iambic performance, as reported by Athenaeus (whose source here may be Timaeus): "Greek music was generally diverse, given that the Athenians preferred Dionysiac and other cyclic choruses, the Syracusans preferred iambists, and other peoples preferred other things" (5.181c).[16] This testimonium provides a fascinating glimpse of the kind of epichoric preferences that made Syracuse such fertile soil for the comedies of Epicharmus, and it underlines the diversity of Syracusan performance culture. This was a polis that presented many opportunities for a prince with musical ambitions.

The first part of the fifth century saw a massive concentration of poetic activity in Syracuse. As we saw in the previous chapter, the two great ruling families of Sicily, the Emmenids of Akragas and the Deinomenids of Syracuse, engaged in a systematic program of poetic commission whose immediate cause was victory with their horses in (mostly panhellenic) games, although their victories were celebrated in multiple media. Hieron's reign in Syracuse, however, marks a significant expansion in musical culture. His ambitions in this area were conspicuous enough that they generated explicit notice among contemporaries and posterity. A passage of Aelian (*Var. Hist.* 4.15) lends psychological color to his patronage of the arts by connecting it with illness. At first, Aelian reports, Hieron was the most uncultured (ἀμουσότατον) of men, differing in this respect not a whit from his brother Gelon. After he became sick, however, he became most cultured (μουσικώτατος), because he used the leisure of his sickbed as an educational opportunity. We would, no doubt, be ill advised to place too much reliance on late biographical anecdote and its psychologizing. Yet it does prove how obtrusive Hieron's cultural profile was, particularly when compared to that of his elder brother Gelon.

That musical festivity was conceived as an integral part of the culture of Hieron's court is evident from the variety of poetic production that he sponsored. Later chapters will examine in detail the great songs written by Pindar for the tyrant, but it is worthwhile to emphasize here the picture

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[15] Ath. 14.629e; Poll. 4.103; cf. Lawler 1943: 67.

[16] Translation: Olson 2006, vol. 2: 401, adapted by Rotstein 2010: 267. On the *iambistai* see Rotstein 2010: 268; Mancuso 1912: 76 (who interprets *iambistas* as writers of *iamboi)*.

he and Bacchylides paint of the musical environment and of the tyrant as a knowledgeable connoisseur, not just somebody about whom songs are sung.[17] Bacchylides 3.71 (written in 468, just before Hieron's death) comments how the victor "has a share in the violet-haired Muses" and the same author's fifth epinician (for his Olympic horse victory in 476) went even further: "You, if any mortal now alive, will know correctly the sweet gift that is the adornment of the Muses with their violet crowns" (γνώσῃ μὲν [ἰ]οστεφάνων / Μοισᾶν γλυκ[ύ]δωρον ἄγαλμα, τῶν γε νῦν / αἴ τις ἐπιχθονίων, / ὀρθῶς, 5.3–6). These elegant lines combine nicely the idea that Hieron is a musical expert able to appreciate Bacchylides' song and that one of the reasons for this expertise is Hieron's outstanding achievement, which generates numberless songs in his honor (not to mention his innate righteousness, which knows how to interpret praise).

Pindar similarly praises Hieron's musical environment. In *Olympian* 6, an ode written for one of Hieron's associates, Hagesias, the final triad pictures the arrival of the victory *kōmos* in Syracuse. The poet, in a move that brings Hieron into a position like that of a receptive deity, hopes that he will receive it kindly, and he prefaces this by saying "sweet-speaking lyres and songs know him" (ἀδύλογοι δέ νιν λύραι μολπαί τε γινώσκοντι, 6.96–97).[18] Here again, the implication is that Hieron is the object of musical celebration, which is both a compliment in itself and a hint that he has the sophistication necessary to welcome the current ode. Music knows him, but, reciprocally and as in Bacchylides, he knows music. An early section of the first *Olympian* ode also elaborates the sophisticated cultural milieu at court. After an initial focus on Olympia, Pindar focuses on the arrival of the "wise" at Hieron's blessed hearth, and he pictures the king as just presider in fertile Sicily, "harvesting the peaks of all excellence" (lines 8–13). Then he adds, "He glories also in the finest music, the kind that we men often sport with around the table of friendship" before focusing on his own song of praise. This sequence establishes the court as a center for song and wisdom, a place to which the "wise" travel (as we shall see, Aeschylus and Xenophanes were probably among their number), and where the excellence on offer comprises both justice and music. The "table of friendship" Pindar evokes is the table of the symposium, and it is a context for musical play and exchange. Hieron is once more the connoisseur; he "glories in" (or "is glorified in") the finest music; the verb here (ἀγλαΐζεται, 14) may

[17] Cf. Mann 2001: 269.
[18] For the interpretation of this passage, see further in Chapter 9.

be middle as well as passive, and this ambiguity underlines the reciprocity between fame and cultural production, as well as Hieron's personal investment in poetic pleasure. This is the context, both actual and rhetorical, for Pindar's victory ode, which is portrayed as the culmination of this song tradition and to which the poet now moves with the exhortation to "take the Dorian lyre from the peg" in order to sing of the victory (lines 17–19).

Thus far, I have mentioned only the contributions made by Pindar and Bacchylides to Hieron's cultural program (and their celebration of it). Their contributions were made not only with epinician odes but with *enkomia* and *hyporchemata*, songs for a variety of performance contexts and occasions.[19] They would be a significant episode in the history of Greek culture even taken by themselves. Yet Pindar and Bacchylides were by no means the only performers in Syracuse. To them we may add Simonides, Xenophanes, Epicharmus, and perhaps most surprisingly, the Athenian dramatist Aeschylus. None of these were "court poets" in the narrow sense; apart from Epicharmus these cultural luminaries were probably visitors rather than permanent fixtures. Nevertheless, they create cumulatively a group of almost unprecedented literary and intellectual brilliance, and to them we shall now turn.

Simonides

The elder statesman of this group was the lyric poet Simonides. Evidence of his presence in Sicily and his association with the Deinomenids is shadowy and regrettably tainted by reliance on anecdote; nevertheless, the cumulative weight of our sources makes Sicilian activity likely.[20] The association of Simonides and Hieron was conventional in antiquity as early as the time of Xenophon, who wrote a fictitious dialogue (*Hieron*) between the two concerning the nature of tyrannical power.[21] Simonides' reason for coming to Sicily is usually ascribed to his famed covetousness (from which no historical conclusions can be drawn apart from the possibility that he made poetic use of commercial exchange),[22] and the same theme haunts the anecdotes told about his stay at Hieron's court. Thus Hieron's wife is said to have asked him whether it was better to be wealthy or wise, to which he replied "Wealthy,

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[19] Cf. Weber 1992: 43–44.

[20] Podlecki 1979 is skeptical, but see Molyneux 1992: 224 for the argument from cumulative weight in the case of Simonides and Hieron.

[21] Cf. Pl. [*Epist.*] 2.311a (= Campbell 17, Poltera T55), which refers to the association as a commonplace of conversation on Hieron.

[22] Thus Ael. *VH* 9.1.

for I see the wise spending time at the doors of the rich." Or again, when she asked him whether all things grow old, he said, "Yes, except for profit, and benefactions most of all."[23] Yet other stories portray him as a wise man and wit, as when Hieron is said to have asked him about the gods and he asked first for one day to think about it, then two, and then kept doubling the number of days. When Hieron asked why, he replied that the longer he thought about it, the fainter his hope of an answer became. As a final example, one could give the line he improvised at a banquet of Hieron's when hare was served to other guests but not to him and Hieron later offered him some: "although it was wide it did not reach me here," a parody, as has long been noted, of *Iliad* 14.33.[24]

It is, of course, possible that all these stories are pure fantasy and tell us nothing even about Simonides' presence in Sicily, let alone any relationship with Hieron. Yet even if the details are not factual, it seems most likely that all the various anecdotes were elaborated on some factual basis other than mere synchronism, especially when there is other evidence (still weak) of compositions by Simonides for the Deinomenids. The tripod epigram discussed in the previous chapter was attributed to Simonides in some circles, although the attribution of Simonidean epigrams is notoriously problematic. If there is any truth here at all, it indicates a relationship with the Deinomenids that may have stretched back even to Gelon's time. Indeed, Severyns speculated that Gelon's chariot victory at Olympia in 488 was celebrated by Simonides.[25] In this instance, the chain of reasoning is more than usually speculative and should probably be rejected, yet Simonides did write an epinician for Astylos of Kroton and then Syracuse, whom we have previously met as a migrant to Syracuse when it was refounded by Gelon. We do not know for what victory this poem was written, but it is at least possible that it was for one of Astylos' victories as a Syracusan and would thus show Simonides' implication in Deinomenid political networks.[26] There is also evidence that Simonides wrote at least one victory ode (and perhaps two) for Xenokrates of Akragas

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[23] Arist. *Rh.* 2.16.1391a8–12 (= Campbell 47d, Poltera T94(a)); *P Hib*. 1.17.1–17 (= Campbell 47f, Poltera T95(a)).

[24] Gods: Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.60 (= Campbell 47c, Poltera T93); the banquet: Ath. 14.656c (= Campbell *eleg*. 7, Poltera T107).

[25] Severyns 1933: 75–76.

[26] *PMG* 506 = Poltera F10. Some editors have suggested that Simonides *PMG* 519 fr. 84 (= Poltera F115) was written for Chromios, a relative and associate of both Gelon and Hieron. Although Gelon does not seem to have generated poetry on Hieron's scale, it is worth noting that he may have been connected with a narrative of how Gela got its name. The polis was usually thought to have derived this from its river, Gelas (Duris *FGrHist* 76 F 59), but a variant version told that it was named after Gelon, son of Aitna (Proxenus *FGrHist* 703 F 4 and Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F 199). It is likely that this version was generated under the influence of Gelon at the time when he became tyrant of Gela, although we do not know who was responsible: Molyneux 1992: 229; Poli-Palladini 2001: 301–302.

to celebrate an Isthmian and a Pythian chariot victory, and according to some traditions he died and was buried in Akragas.[27] His Sicilian connections thus stretched beyond Syracuse, a fact that probably lies behind his possible diplomatic activity on the island.

When it comes to Simonides' poetic production for Hieron himself, there is only one piece of (more or less) direct evidence. Himerius, in a propemptic speech for the proconsul of Asia, refers to a song that Simonides delivered when seeing Hieron off from Sicily to another land, mixing the notes of his lyre with tears.[28] If Simonides did write a propemptic ode for Hieron, this would be one more indication of the diversity of poetic forms deployed in Hieron's Syracuse; an affecting farewell would be the type of poetry at which Simonides excelled. One should also mention the possibility that Simonides wrote poetry in connection with Hieron's foundation of Aitna in 476. A scholion to Theocritus tells that "Simonides says that Aitna decided between Hephaistos and Demeter when they contended with each other over the land." Once again, we have no definite occasion for this composition, but the founding of a new city on Aitna would be a very suitable one, and this would group Pindar, Simonides, and Aeschylus together as celebrators of the new city.[29] All of these are moderately insubstantial indications of poetic activity, although there is no way to tell whether the paucity of fragments preserved matches original production. If it does, and if Simonides nevertheless spent time at Hieron's court, this would be an item of interest in its own right. It might mean that Hieron's desire to associate with himself an outstanding coterie of poetic talent could be satisfied by mere presence, even when this did not entail many compositions, thus exemplifying again Pindar's picture of the wise traveling to Hieron's happy hearth (and we may compare also the anecdote related above, where Simonides comments on the "wise" who spend their time at the doors of the rich). It might also mean that Simonides was valued for talents that went beyond the poetic. A snippet from the Pindaric scholia which may go back to Timaeus relates that Simonides was responsible for reconciling Hieron with Theron of Akragas when the two were

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[27] Victory ode for Xenokrates: Schol. ad Pi. *I.* 2 inscr. a; cf. Molyneux 1992: 233–235. Tomb in Akragas: Callim. fr. 64 Pfeiffer (= Campbell 21, Poltera T51); Ael. frag. 63 Hercher.

[28] *PMG* 580 (= Himerius, *Or.* 31.2; Poltera T59). There is some difference in interpretation depending on whether one emends the text to make Hieron see Simonides off or Simonides see Hieron off. See Poltera ad loc. As an anonymous reader points out, Simonides was associated with mourning in later tradition.

[29] *PMG* 552 (= Schol. Theocr. 1.65/66a; Poltera F279). Poli-Palladini 2001: 303 and Molyneux 1992: 229–230.

at the point of going to war.[30] The episode is told in a different version (without Simonides) in Diodorus, so the suggestion cannot be pressed, but if there is any truth in it at all, it suggests that Simonides may have played a role as advisor and diplomat. Finally, the anecdotal association between Simonides (famed for financial greed) and Hieron may reflect a general suspicion concerning the nature of the poet-patron relationship. This would form an interesting background against which to read Pindar's poetry for Hieron, reinforcing the need for Pindar to protest his sincerity and independence.

Aeschylus

Aeschylus of Athens paid a minimum of two (and perhaps as many as three) visits to Sicily.[31] Biographical anecdote is, as ever, a risky source, but this much seems to be agreed: that he wrote, at the invitation of Hieron, a tragedy called the *Women of Aitna* (*Aitnaiai*), that his *Persians* was (re) performed in Syracuse, and that he spent his final years in Gela, dying there in 456–55. We cannot tell what first interested Aeschylus in the Sicilian scene. Some stories told that he left Athens in a fury either after having been defeated by Sophocles or after having failed to be chosen to write a commemorative epigram for the fallen at Marathon (Simonides was chosen instead),[32] but little reliance can be placed on such stories of poetic rivalry. It seems more likely that Hieron invited Aeschylus to visit his court with promises of generous hospitality, and that the poet, intrigued by Hieron's wealth and reputation, gladly accepted.[33] Hieron, we remember, had been active in the panhellenic sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia in the 470s, busily projecting his image of virtuous kingship. The very invitation to perform the *Persians* in Syracuse will have served as an earnest of his desire to associate himself with mainland joy at the victory over the barbarian.[34]

Most scholars would place the visit during which *Persians* was performed around 470, after the Athenian première of the play in 472.[35] If this is correct, the performance would have been more or less contemporary with Pindar's

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[30] Schol. Pi. *O*. 2.29c. See Chapter 2, "Sicilian Policy," with note 99 there.

[31] For discussion, see Herington 1967: 75–76 (with a useful list of relevant testimonia at 82–85); Griffith 1978: 105–106; Bosher 2012a: 103.

[32] *Vit. Aesch*. 8.

[33] The scholiast to Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1028 reports, "This *Persians* seems to have been produced in Syracuse by Aeschylus because of Hieron's eagerness, as Eratosthenes says" (= *TrGF* III Testimonia Gd 56a).

[34] Cf. Rehm 1989: 31; Bremer 1991: 41; Scodel 2001: 217–218.

[35] Bosher 2012a, however, argues for a Sicilian première around 475.

first *Pythian*, which, as we shall see, is at pains to contextualize Hieron's victory against the barbarian in terms of broader Greek successes. Both pieces celebrate the battles of Salamis and Plataia (though in Pindar they are mentioned as comparanda for Deinomenid success, and Plataia is mentioned in the *Persians* only briefly). In both, the Greeks (including Hieron) stand for freedom and order against chaos and slavery. It is not clear whether the Syracusan performance of the *Persians* presented the play as we have it today, whether a different version of the play existed for Syracuse, or whether our current text exhibits traces of a Syracusan version.[36] If that version included a section on the Battle of Plataia, as some have speculated, then the connection with *Pythian* 1 would be even closer.[37] Certainty is, as usual, impossible, but we know enough to remark on the subtlety of Hieron's cultural planning here. At a time when motives and the facts about (non)participation in the battle against the Mede were still contested, when states and politicians were scrambling for their share of the glory, Hieron co-opted Athenian memorialization of the war for his own benefit. This act of appropriation staked his claim to have fought on the side of light and to be an enlightened ruler.

Kathryn Bosher has recently examined how the play contributes to the Deinomenid cultural program and concludes that whereas the first half of the play, read in an Athenian context, opposes monarchy against democracy, other readings are also possible. The opposition between Greek and barbarian resonates nicely in a Syracusan context, and the second half of the play shows us that "it was not the sheer fact of the tyranny that led to the Persians' downfall, but the arrogance of one man, Xerxes."[38] The *Persians* not only sets east against west but (as Mark Griffith has argued) reflects complex and ambivalent Athenian attitudes toward royal families. The young Xerxes struggles and fails to live up to the achievements of his father, a scenario that was seen by the Greeks to be characteristic of dynastic (and aristocratic) rule. Yet his portrayal is not unsympathetic, and the play ends with an affirmation of his rule. Griffith considers the *Persians* as a limit case for his suggestion that "Monarchy is represented in Greek tragedy as being at the same time both a disreputable challenge to, or negation of, democratic norms, and a desirable and irresistible object of admiration and fascination, even of comfort."[39] In general terms, then, we could say

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[36] Broadhead 1960: xlviii–lv; Garvie 2009: liii–lvii; Bosher 2012a.

[37] *TrGF* III Testimonia Gd 56, 56a with Garvie 2009: liv–lvi (with discussion of various possibilities for reconstruction).

[38] Bosher 2012a: 110.

[39] Griffith 1998: 23, 42–65 (quote at 43). See Bosher 2012b for the idea that the play may promote the ideology of a great leader (Darius).

that the play explores the problems of royalty, but it does so in terms that were of immediate relevance for Hieron and his family. If, as I argue in this book, the period directly after the Persian Wars put particular pressure on the concept of autocratic rule, and if this in turn necessitated a retooling of kingly ideology in Syracuse, then the *Persians* serves the valuable goal of setting up Xerxes as a negative paradigm of monarchy. Given that the war took place at Xerxes' command, his example was an especially pertinent one.[40] Like Koronis at *Pythian* 3.20–22, who, fatally, loved what was absent and disdained what was close at hand, Xerxes' fate teaches the lesson that those who feel contempt for their present lot and "pour out their great prosperity in desire for something different" will be punished by god (in this case, Zeus; *Pers.* 824–828). Like Ixion and Tantalos in *Pythian* 1 and *Olympian* 1, Xerxes cannot digest his good fortune. Hieron, of course, has more moderate appetites.

There is also a possibility that Aeschylus' play may not have been the only tragic performance on the topic of the Persian Wars. A problematic testimonium from an anonymous treatise on comedy states "Phrynichus the son of Phradmon died in Sicily."[41] Since Phrynichus the tragedian of the early fifth century was said to be the son of Polyphradmon in some sources, this has led to a belief that Phrynichus the tragedian died in Sicily.[42] This would be most interesting if true, since the *Persians* of Aeschylus is said to have been strongly influenced by Phrynichus' *Phoenician Women*, which reported the defeat of Xerxes and was performed in Athens in 477–76 with Themistokles as producer.[43] If Phrynichus the tragedian did visit Sicily, we would have to ask why, and one answer might be that he too was invited to stage his tragedy on the subject of the recent wars. This must remain speculation, since the testimonium is corrupt and it is possible that it is the later fifth-century comedian of the same name who is at issue.[44] The possibility is intriguing, however, particularly since Themistokles, the producer of the play in Athens, was one of Hieron's rivals in the contest for panhellenic honor in the 470s and may himself have had western ambitions.[45]

When we come to the *Women of Aitna* the waters are even murkier. The play was composed in association with Hieron's new city of Aitna: "he went to Syracuse at the time Hieron was founding Aitna and he put on the *Aitnai*,

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[40] Cf. Bosher 2012a: 111.
[41] Anon. *De com*. p. 8.36 Kaib. (= *TrGF* I Phrynichus T6). The same passage is *PCG* VII 393 T2.
[42] Son of Polyphradmon: *Suda* s.v. Φρύνιχος.
[43] *TrGF* I Phrynichus T4, T5.
[44] See the cautionary remarks of Harvey 2000: 114–115.
[45] See Chapter 4.

auguring a good life for those settling the city."[46] If this is interpreted strictly we might expect a performance shortly after the foundation in 476 (thus creating an early visit of Aeschylus to Sicily in the mid-470s). It has generally seemed preferable, however, to connect the play with the period of celebration at the end of the decade, when the foundation had finished (clearly the engineering of populations required, and the process of foundation could have taken, several years). This period saw both the performance of *Pythian* 1 and the staging of the *Persians*.[47] Few fragments of the play survive, and certainly not enough for a secure reconstruction, but the fortunate preservation of a hypothesis to the play in *POxy.* 2257 provides some information (*TrGF* III F451t, pp. 126–127). It was notable for having included several changes of the scene: first Aitna, then Xouthia (probably the name for an area associated with Leontinoi), then Aitna again, then Leontinoi, and finally Syracuse (possibly the district of Temenite, the very place where the theater was located).[48] We know from Macrobius that the play dealt (at least in part) with the cult of the Palikoi, Sikel divinities whom Aeschylus was the "first of all" to treat in his poetry.[49] The only lengthy fragment focuses on these Palikoi, etymologizing their names: they were so called because they came back from the darkness into the light.[50] The larger context of this story is that Zeus lay with the nymph Thalia near the river Symaithos in the vicinity of Mt. Aitna. Fearing Juno's wrath, the nymph prayed to be hidden in the earth, and this came to pass, but when the time had come for her to give birth, the earth opened to allow the children to emerge.

What can we make of these scanty indications? One fundamental, useful for the general if not the specific dramatic trajectory, is that the play augured well for the inhabitants of the new city. Much depends here on how we choose to fantasize about the reconstructed play, and this in turn depends on our view of what we think Hieron (not to mention Aeschylus) would have found necessary, acceptable, and attractive in a drama composed for civic celebration. The danger of circular argumentation is real: Are we to draw conclusions about the nature of tyrannical propaganda in drama from an action reconstructed according to our notions of what a tyrant would demand? Speculation on the temporal scope of the play has sometimes

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[46] *Vit. Aesch*. 9. For the (probably corrupt) title *Aitnai*, see Poli-Palladini 2001: 311–312.

[47] Herington 1967: 76; Griffith 1978: 106. It is probable that the play was performed in the theater at Syracuse, although (additional?) performance at the Aitnaia festival has also been suggested (cf. Poli-Palladini 2001: 317).

[48] Poli-Palladini 2001: 289–293 argues for five scene changes (six scenes in all).

[49] Macrob. *Saturn*. 5.19.17–19, 24.

[50] *TrGF* III F6.

been guided by the perception that in order to be a proper celebration of civic foundation, the action would have to take place at least partly in the present day or that it would have contained direct praise of Hieron.[51]

There are two basic options for reconstruction. One is to split the action of the play between the mythical or quasi-mythical past in the first and second part of the action (Aitna and Xouthia) and imagine a move to historical settings in the third, fourth, and fifth parts (Aitna the city, Leontinoi, and Syracuse).[52] Such a move from past to present would foreground Hieron's recent activities. Yet it is also possible that the play was set entirely in the mythical past. When the hypothesis of the play tells us that the setting of the third scene was πάλιν Αἴτνη, we may translate this either as "Aitna in its turn" or "Aitna again," and if the latter (as seems most natural), then the scene may be the mountain again, rather than the city. It is possible, then, that no scene of the play was set in the Deinomenid present; references to Leontinoi and Syracuse would be to the future sites of those cities.[53] On this reading, the action would center on the rape of Thalia, her pregnancy, and the birth and emergence of the Palikoi,[54] and it may have avoided direct engagement with the reality of Hieron's monarchy.[55]

Perhaps, however, the play was not a "proper" tragedy at all? In 1954, Eduard Fraenkel suggested that the play was a "festival piece" (*Festspiel*) without a coherent plot. This suggestion was based partly on the frequent changes of scene mentioned in the hypothesis; such changes would, he thought, make a unified plot difficult. We should think rather of a sequence of scenes from the past and present of the city connected by thematic echoes.[56] Now, changing settings do not in themselves necessitate a disconnected sequence of mythical and historical tableaux or a temporal shift from past to present, but Fraenkel was building his case on the basis of another piece of evidence, his own conviction that he could assign at least one other fragment to the play. This was a fragment from *POxy.* 2256 (= *TrGF* III F 281a and b), now known as the "Dike Play," where Dike speaks to (presumably) a chorus, explaining that she is sent by Zeus to those whom he favors and narrating how beneficial she is, even exerting her power over a violent child of Zeus and Hera (probably Ares).[57] The

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[51] For the latter, see Cataudella 1964–65: 377.
[52] La Rosa 1974: 154; Basta-Donzelli 1996: 92–93.
[53] Poli-Palladini 2001: 292–293, 304–308.
[54] Cataudella 1964–65: 376–377.
[55] Poli-Palladini 2001: 310.
[56] Fraenkel 1954: 68, 71.
[57] Fraenkel 1954: 64–68.

subject matter was, he thought, perfect for a celebration of Hieron's new foundation and must have been the central scene of the play. Hieron's message to the Greeks (via Aeschylus) was that he was beginning a new era of peace, harmony, and justice with this foundation.

Many scholars have followed Fraenkel in this attribution, though not always in his placement of the scene or his *Festspiel* hypothesis.[58] What has made the suggestion so attractive is the elegance with which it fits into more general notions of what Hieron wanted to achieve with the play.[59] It would be convenient indeed to imagine that the *Women of Aitna* featured the descent of Justice to mankind, at Zeus's command, in the vicinity of Hieron's new city. There is, moreover, the added possibility of connecting aspects of this fragment with the contents of *Pythian* 1, which also celebrates the foundation. Connections have thus been drawn between the control exerted over Ares in the fragment and the soothing of Ares by the music of the lyre at the beginning of Pindar's ode, between Aeschylus' Justice and Pindar's 'steering oar of justice' with which Hieron is to guide his people (*P.* 1.86).[60] Moving, briefly, away from the problem of the Dike fragment, one might also add that both Pindar and Aeschylus wrote poetry for the foundation of Aitna which may have relied on the concept of the omen. In *Pythian* 1.33–38, the chariot victory of the founder (Hieron) creates the expectation that "for the rest of time the city will be renowned for crowns and horses and famous with sweet-voiced festivities" (σὺν εὐφώνοις θαλίαις). In the *Women of Aitna* the favor shown to the nymph Thalia and the birth of her divine children near the mountain similarly promises well for the city, especially if the language of the *Vita* (οἰωνιζόμενος βίον ἀγαθόν, "auguring a good life"; *Vit. Aesch.* 9) reflects themes that were prominent in the play. It is perhaps no accident that in Aeschylus' version the name of the nymph who attracted Zeus' favor near the mountain was Thalia, bespeaking the festivity for which Pindar hopes the city will be famous.

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[58] Among others: Cataudella 1964–65: 378–386; Corbato 1996: 68–71 (καλὸς κίνδυνος, 69). Defiant: Poli-Palladini 2001: 313–315.

[59] Cf. Cataudella 1964–65: 385, who speaks of congruence with "the goals we can legitimately suppose were pursued in this tragedy whether by Hieron, who commanded the poet, or the poet, who composed it in conformity with the directives of his friend the king" (gli scopi che con questa tragedia possiamo legittimamente supporre si fossero prefissi sia Gerone, che l'ordinò al poeta, sia il poeta che la compose in conformità con le presumibili direttive dell'amico sovrano).

[60] Cataudella 1964–65: 386–387; Corbato 1996: 69–70; cf. Lloyd-Jones 1971: 100.

Ultimately (and in the absence of conclusive papyrus finds) all these reconstructions are speculation; we must be content with a "likely story." There is no convincing proof that the Dike fragment belongs with the *Women of Aitna*, and some indication that it does not.[61] One might suspect, moreover, that Fraenkel's enthusiasm for assigning the Dike fragment to the play rendered him too willing to deemphasize the importance of the Palikoi to the plot. Although the example of the *Persians* shows that it was not impossible for tragedy to engage with recent events, it does seem implausible that the *Women of Aitna* moved from myth to recent foundation in the space of a single play. Nor would such drastic temporal shifts be necessary in order to cast an auspicious shadow over the new city. Direct eulogy of Hieron, besides being unartistically unsubtle and foreign to the genre, would cause other problems (if the action of the play reached the present, would Hieron have been part of the action, and who would have played him?). Although events such as Salamis were rapidly mythologized and had clear narrative lines, the (re)foundation of Aitna with its attendant ethnic and political complexities was best dealt with in broad strokes. The future foundation of the city was doubtless the subject of honorific prophecy in the play, but the rapid shifts between past and present are more a feature of epinician than of drama, and even Pindar (as we shall see) told a partial tale.

If we turn from the possibilities of the Dike fragment back to the material that we know to be associated with the play (the hypothesis and the fragment about the Palikoi), a different set of concerns comes to fore: how the play configured the appropriation of Ionian territory for the new foundation, and how it recast native divinities in a Greek mold. As we saw in the previous chapter, Aitna was created by expelling the Ionian inhabitants of Katane and refounding the polis with Dorians from Sicily and the Peloponnese. This cannot have been a gentle procedure; we have seen how the inhabitants of Katane took the first opportunity to return after Hieron's death. What are we to make, then, of the fourth scene of the play, set in Leontinoi, whither the displaced people of Katane were transported? Some have imagined that the play (written, after all, by an Athenian) would have modeled a rapprochement between Dorian and Ionian elements in eastern Sicily.[62] Yet it is also significant that we may to be able to reconstruct a subtle manipulation of mythical genealogies lying behind the play, one that

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[61] The use of ὀτιή in line 9 of the fragment would be unprecedented tragic diction and would be more at home in a satyr play (Poli-Palladini 2001: 313; cf. Cataudella 1964–65: 378–379). On the other hand, the chorus do not sound like normal satyrs (Cataudella 1964–65: 380–383; Sommerstein 2008: 277–278).

[62] Mazzarino, cited in Cataudella 1964–65: 398; Basta-Donzelli 1996: 92–95.

emphasized Dorian preeminence and Dorian claims in eastern Sicily.[63] If this is correct, it seems less likely that the play would paint a rosy picture of ethnic (Greek) harmony, but in any case, I think that the resettlement of the Ionian inhabitants was not a feature of the action. It seems more likely that, as in *Pythian* 1, the creation of the polis of Aitna was imagined as a new foundation, with the dispossessed Ionians in erasure.

On the matter of the Palikoi we can achieve a little more certainty. The emergence of the Palikoi from the earth will have been cast as an augury of divine beneficence for the region, but even more crucially, it underlined the appropriation of indigenous divinities into the Greek cultural sphere. Aeschylus, it was noted above, was the first to give them literary treatment and probably invented the etymology whereby they were called Palikoi because they had "come back again" from the earth.[64] There is no evidence of any kindly or integrative intentions toward the Sikels on Hieron's part, and the audience of the *Women of Aitna* could presumably all agree on the necessity of their subordination. It is in this colonial appropriation of a pre-Greek past that it is most profitable to seek the core of the play, and here also that (broad) parallels with Pindar's project in *Pythian* 1 emerge. In both pieces the wild past of Sicily is tamed and brought into order, as the Greek Zeus of Aitna impregnates a local nymph and engenders local gods, and as he imprisons the monstrous Typhon beneath Mt. Aitna, staking (literally) his claim to the land for the forces of order and harmony that include Hieron. The conventions of epinician allow Pindar to bring the victorious contemporary ruler into his poetry and create his effects through associative juxtaposition, but drama works more indirectly. The fruitfulness of the land, the birth of miraculous children, the institution of cult—all in a time of origins—create a past where none was before (or rather, in the case of Aitna, where the past was the wrong ethnic flavor). If this is convincing, then the *Women of Aitna* forms an interesting diptych with the *Persians*: one play focusing on a local past with diachronic implications for a local present, the other taking a mythologized and panhellenic present from the mainland and bringing it into a synchronic relationship with the Sicilian present.

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[63] Poli-Palladini 2001: 297–300, 321–323; cf. Smith 2012; Basta-Donzelli 1996: 89–91. For the suggestion that the various locations emphasized the unity of Hieron's domains, see Bremer 1991: 40. See Bonanno 2010: 139–140 for displacing the violence of the foundation of Aitna by a "myth of precedence" (both here and in *Pythian* 1).

[64] As Dougherty 1993: 88–90 observes, this fragment exhibits "exactly the kind of bilingual, etymological wordplay that we have come to associate with colonial representation" and marks the "linguistic appropriation of a local cult." On the absorption of native traditions into a master colonial discourse, see also Cataudella 1964–65: 396–397; Basta-Donzelli 1996: 93; Poli-Palladini 2001: 319–321 (with survey and critique of possible attitudes taken toward the Sikels).

Aeschylus' own attitude to the situation in Sicily is unrecoverable. It has sometimes been thought troubling that he, Athenian and (surely!) committed democrat, would compose a drama that glorified Hieron's foundation of Aitna—even more so if one takes a view of Attic tragedy that sees as its essence the probing of issues problematic to the polis. Thus the suggestion that the play with its multiple changes of scene would have mirrored the dislocation experienced by the former residents of Katane when they were compelled to move to Leontinoi.[65] In that case, however, it is hard to see how anyone could describe the play as auguring a good future for the settlers. The alternative to this "subversive" scenario need not be unqualified praise for the tyrant. Other commentators have been happier to imagine that Aeschylus might give a positive response to Hieron's Sicilian project, accepting the idea that the monarch's goal was to usher in a new era of peace, harmony, and freedom.[66] We should probably not rely too much on Aeschylus' gullibility here, but neither need we believe that an Athenian in the 470s would automatically have suspected the worst of a Sicilian king. Tragedy in Athens, as Griffith has argued, not only aligned itself against despotism, espousing the values of freedom and equality, but also displayed "nostalgic desire and anxiety concerning the preservation and reconstitution of a threatening/threatened élite authority."[67] Such concerns were an important part of the thematics of *Persians* and found a natural extension of their scope in Hieron's Syracuse and Aitna. They were particularly pressing in the decade immediately after Xerxes' invasion, as Hieron (and others) scrambled to reconfigure their image and the image of an institution that could plausibly be thought to have threatened the very fabric of polis existence and Greek culture. This is why the performance of *Persians* was such a brilliant step for Hieron. This is why *Women of Aitna* would have implied diachronic continuity and fertility as it looked forward to a moment of civic creation. It is not impossible that Aeschylus found it plausible (or convenient) to picture Hieron as a "good king" who had aligned himself on the side of freedom in the recent wars and whose desire to stage the *Persians* showed that his heart was in the right place. The unique opportunity for dramatic experimentation in a non-Athenian environment with almost unlimited financial support may also have been a significant motivator. This does not mean that he toadied to the tyrant. By invoking divine blessings for a city rooted in the mythological past and

[65] Rehm 1989: 32–33.
[66] Fraenkel 1954: 71; Cataudella 1964–65: 398.
[67] Griffith 1998: 23–25, 43 (for quote).

perhaps alluding to exemplary rule (through the paradigm of exemplary rule in the past), he could be seen as setting a context for exemplary monarchy in the present.[68]

It may always remain a mystery why Aeschylus was remembered by some as "in a certain way a native" of Sicily (schol. in Ar. *Pac*. 73β: τρόπον δέ τινα καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐπιχώριος). There is no real evidence that his language or dramaturgy were fundamentally affected by his visits.[69] The scholiast quoted above cites as evidence Aeschylus' reference to the huge dung beetles of Aitna in his *Sisyphus the Stone-roller*, presumably to compare the punishment of Sisyphus in the underworld to the labors of a dung beetle; we can see why this lively detail might have caught the commentator's eye, but its significance is doubtful.[70] What we do know is that Aeschylus was so greatly honored by the attentions of the Sicilians that he retired to Gela and died there, and that his effect on the people of Gela (at least) was so startling that they built him a tomb. It is even possible that they instituted a hero cult for him that "included the competitive re-performance of his dramas."[71] Sicily in the second quarter of the fifth century presented real attractions besides its wealth. The intellectual ferment of Hieron's court gave opportunities not only to lyric poets but to emergent forms of drama, not to mention a laboratory in which to work on issues that were among the most pressing of the age.

Epicharmus and Xenophanes

The comic playwright Epicharmus (seen in antiquity as playing a foundational role in the invention of comedy[72]) had been active at Syracuse even before the Deinomenid takeover, but his activity continued through Hieron's reign. His comedy often involved mythological travesty and had a number of targets—contemporary intellectual speculation and rhetoric, tragedy, and epic—but my interest here is how he fits into a specifically Deinomenid context.[73] Only scanty fragments of his plays remain, and in many cases we have only the titles, but there is enough to see that,

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[68] Cf. Poli-Palladini 2001: 324.

[69] Griffith 1978.

[70] This is, of course, pure speculation, but if we could imagine a Sicilian performance of this play, its thematics (great sinner punished for exemplary crime) would parallel the appearance of Ixion, Tantalos, and Typhon in Pindar's odes for Hieron.

[71] Wilson 2007: 354, 356–357.

[72] Pl. *Tht*. 152e, Arist. *Poet*. 1448a29–34.

[73] For a recent treatment of the language of Epicharmus, see Willi 2008: 119–192; on intellectual affiliations, see Willi 2008: 162–192; Guillén 2012.

whatever else we might want to observe about him, he was joyously and combatively immersed in sophisticated contemporary culture and alive to its comic potentialities. A scholion to Pindar's *Pythian* 1 (99a) tells us that Epicharmus in his *Islands* makes a riddling allusion to Anaxilas of Rhegion's wish to destroy the Epizephyrian Lokrians utterly, and his prevention from doing so by Hieron's threats.[74] This is all we know about the play, and it is possible that Hieron's intervention in Southern Italy was mentioned only in passing. Even this would be interesting; it is likely that Anaxilas was the butt of the story, and Hieron would thus have been positively commemorated. If however, the fate of the Lokrians was central to the plot (one could easily imagine Anaxilas as an ogre figure), the compliment would be even greater; their salvation was obviously a matter of enough pride for Hieron that Pindar mentioned it at *P.* 2.18–20.

This is the only good evidence we have for direct reference to Hieron, but it is also clear that Epicharmus took the opportunity to parody the luminaries present in Syracuse and at court, and he possibly even mocked the culture of celebration in the city in the 470s and early 460s. Let us begin with Xenophanes. Anecdotal evidence places this rhapsode, Homeric critic, and philosopher in Syracuse, although he would have been old at the time.[75] Plutarch (*Mor.* 175c) tells of his complaint to Hieron that he could barely support two servants. "But Homer," Hieron quips in reply, "whom you disparage, supports more than ten thousand, even though he is dead!" Hieron presumably refers to Xenophanes' famous moral critique of Homer, that he (and Hesiod) attributed to the gods everything that was a matter of reproach among men (DK 21B11). Although such an anecdote is a shaky foundation for speculation, for the story to be plausible we must believe that Xenophanes was in town, that he had performed his own poetry, and that his relationship with Hieron permitted banter. More than this is difficult to say. There has been speculation that Xenophanes' critique of the immorality and uselessness of certain types of poetic tales may have influenced Pindar's rejection (in *Olympian* 1) of the version of the Pelops myth where he was served to the gods in a cannibalistic banquet,[76] but gestures of piety and break-offs are a standard enough part of Pindar's poetics that we need see no external influence here. Xenophanes' first elegy (on symposium deportment, stressing sumptuous equipment and improving discourse: DK 21B1) has also been linked to a sympotic

[74] Arnson Svarlien 1990–91: 105.
[75] DK 21A8 (reporting the notice of Timaeus transmitted in Clem. *Strom.* 1.64) and A11.
[76] Gostoli 1999.

context in Hieron's palace.[77] Yet a court that welcomed Pindar's tales of bestial centaurs, sinning mortals, and monstrous rebels against Zeus will not necessarily have aligned itself with the poetic practice of a thinker who depreciated tales concerning "the battles of Titans and Giants and centaurs" (DK 21B1.21–22) and who, in his second elegy (DK 21B2) complained about the honors paid to athletic prowess. This is not to say that poetry in the court was expected to adopt a single moral outlook, but rather that Xenophanes is unlikely to have provided a moral compass according to which Pindar (or anyone else) chose to orient himself. It is far more likely that Hieron's Syracuse welcomed interesting poets with cultural pretensions. Xenophanes was one of "the wise" who came to Hieron's blessed hearth and added to the general glow. For a poet like Epicharmus, he was an irresistible target. We know from Alexander of Aphrodisias that Epicharmus spoke insultingly of Xenophanes, probably saying that he spoke things that were neither plausible nor true. As Willi remarks, Epicharmus seems to be taking aim at Xenophanes' notions of plausibility, and maybe also at his criticisms of traditional gods.[78]

Aeschylus and Pindar also received their share of mockery. A scholion to Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (626 = Epicharm. *PCG* fr. 221) reports that Epicharmus ridiculed him for his frequent use of the verb τιμαλφεῖν (an elevated locution for "honor"), a testimonium that presumes some literary sophistication on the part of his audience.[79] We know, moreover, that one of Epicharmus' comedies was called *Persians*. Although there is no information on the content of this play, it is attractive to suppose that this play may have been, in part, a parody of Aeschylus' *Persians*.[80] If so, it is interesting that Epicharmus felt free to mock a work that was performed in Syracuse at Hieron's express invitation and that played an important role in the construction of the tyrant's panhellenic image. To this title we can add two more that may indicate Epicharmus' engagement with Hieron's cultural program: *Epinikios* and *Choreuontes* (Heph. *Encheiridion* 8.2–3). *Epinikios* ("Victorious") could profitably be understood as playing on the fever of epinician production that characterized Hieron's reign, and *Choreuontes* ("Dancers") also situates us in the world of choral production (although we cannot be sure of the nature of the dancing referred to). Finally, there is growing agreement that in his play *Logos and Logina*

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[77] Vetta 1983: xlix–xl.
[78] Alexander of Aphrodisias *CAG* I, p. 308.10–14 (Hayduck). For analysis, see Willi 2008: 163–165.
[79] Arnson-Svarlien 1990–91: 105–106; Willi 2008: 166–167.
[80] Kerkhof 2001: 136.

Epicharmus alludes to Pindar's rewriting of Tantalos' cannibalistic banquet in *Olympian* 1.[81] Fragment 76 (*PCG)* presents this exchange:

> —Zeus invited me to a banquet (*g'eranon*) he's giving for Pelops.
> —That's really terrible food, my friend, a crane (*geranos*).
> —I didn't say a crane (*geranon*), I said a banquet.[82]

The reference to a banquet given by Zeus for Pelops seems to presume the version of the myth in *Olympian* 1, where Tantalos' cannibalistic banquet for the gods with his son Pelops as the main course is rejected in favor of a lawful *eranos* (banquet) given by Tantalos for the gods. Once again, the joke works best if the audience knows Pindar's ode and can appreciate the transformation of his feast motif.

This series of intertextual relationships between the comedy of Epicharmus and the poetry of Pindar, Aeschylus, and Xenophanes indicates first of all the richness and diversity of the Syracusan cultural scene during Hieron's reign, a richness that was undoubtedly Hieron's goal. It also shows that this culture was self-conscious enough that it could be the object of comedy. Epicharmus knows that his audience will understand his references to the famous poets who graced the town with visits. Thirdly, it shows that Hieron (contrary to what one might have expected from a tyrant who was the first to establish a secret police) was secure enough to allow his prized *sophoi* and his culture of victory and celebration to be mocked by Epicharmus. It is unlikely that Epicharmus could have flourished throughout Hieron's reign if the tyrant felt offended or threatened by his comedy (and Epicharmus could also, as we saw above, refer to Hieron as the one who saved the Lokrians). Indeed, gentle mockery, especially when directed at poets rather than the monarch, could help parade Hieron's security and generosity. A good king will not be offended when a specialist in the local art form engages wittily with the issues of the day. The Syracusans, we remember, are devotees of the *iambistai*, and whatever these are, they must have some connection with quasi-satiric performance. Parody of epic, lyric, and strange philosophers does not necessarily make Epicharmus' comedy fundamentally democratic in spirit.[83] It

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[81] Arnson-Svarlien 1990–91: 106–107; Guillén 2012.

[82] ὁ Ζεύς μ' ἐκάλεσε, Πέλοπί γ' ἔρανον ἱστιῶν. / ἦ παμπόνηρον ὄψον, ὦ τάν, ὁ γέρανος. / ἀλλ' οὔτι γέρανον, ἀλλ' ἔρανόν <γά> τοι λέγω. The translation here is taken from Arnson-Svarlien 1990–91: 106.

[83] Willi 2008: 191: "Epicharms Komödie ist, obschon sie im monarchisch regierten Syrakus blühte, in ihrem innersten eine *demokratische Literaturform.*"

reflects the specific configuration of Syracuse as a brilliant cultural center where Doric comedy could explore new frontiers.[84]

Performance

It is relatively unproblematic to conceive the performance space in which the comedies of Epicharmus and the tragedies of Aeschylus would have been performed. Some form of theater in Syracuse probably dates back to the sixth century, and this will have been the site of dramatic performances during Hieron's reign, regardless of how architecturally elaborated (or not) it was. Matters are less easily settled when it comes to imagining the context for lyric and elegiac poetry. If it is correct to associate Xenophanes with Hieron's court, then we may well imagine him performing to relatively restricted audiences. Elegies such as DK 21B1 would slot comfortably into a princely symposium, and although it is difficult to imagine much enthusiasm on Hieron's part for the philosopher's speculations, it seems likely enough that they too would have been communicated within the space of the symposium. As a rhapsode, Xenophanes may also have given performances in more public spaces. Yet the poetry produced by Pindar and Bacchylides presents greater problems, problems connected with larger issues in reconstructing epinician performance. To these issues we must briefly give some attention—not in an attempt to say the final word on long-running scholarly controversies, but to give a picture of the model with which I am operating.

First comes the problem of choral versus monodic performance, or: Is it correct to assume that Pindar's Sicilian epinician odes would have been performed by a chorus, at least in their initial presentation? The last two decades of the twentieth century were marked by a lively debate on whether the long-standing model of choral performance for the epinicia was justified. Precisely how should we interpret his first-person statements, which are couched sometimes in the singular and sometimes in the plural? My own contribution to this debate was to insist that Pindar's

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[84] Epicharmus' personal relationship with Hieron is the object of an anecdote told by Plutarch in his treatise on *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend* (*Mor*. 68a). Hieron executed some mutual acquaintances and then a few days later invited Epicharmus to dinner. The poet replied (this is Jebb's translation, which, as he comments, maintains the ambiguity of the Greek: "ἀλλὰ πρῴην," ἔφη, "θύων τοὺς φίλους οὐκ ἐκάλεσας") "The other day when you held a sacrifice of your friends I alone was not asked" (Jebb 1905: 11, n.1). We may note Jebb's comment also: "Granting that some or most of these stories may have been late figments, it seems probable that Hieron's disposition was of a kind which made such intercourse possible, even if, as a rule, it was somewhat perilous."

first-person statements were part of a complex rhetoric and should not be interpreted as stage directions.[85] Although both singular and plural voices are deployed, the hypothesis that the initial performances of the odes were monodic impoverished (I felt) their poetic dynamics. Pindar is concerned to emphasize his expert and authoritative voice but also to appropriate the spontaneity and festivity of the victory revel, the *kōmos.* Thus the singing voice moves in and out of identity with the *kōmos*, which is in turn mapped onto the choral performers of the song. Flexibility of persona also helps to recreate the victory revel and the poet's powerful identity during future reperformance. Most recent reevaluations of this question have also opted for the choral hypothesis, but with a salutary recognition that it is unwise to be doctrinaire about distinctions that may not have been as important to the ancients as we have often made them. Thus Ettore Cingano has argued against too rigid an interpretation of genre in archaic lyric: the mode of performance is not intrinsic to a piece of poetry and will often have been determined by the occasion.[86] An increased scholarly focus on the likelihood of reperformance (indeed, its necessity if Pindar was to make good on his promises of eternal fame) has also contributed to an awareness that even on the hypothesis of initial choral performance the rhetoric of the victory odes must leave space for monodic reperformance.[87]

The hypothesis of an initial choral performance, therefore, still seems to me to make good sense of the first-person rhetoric of Pindar's epinicia. Yet this does not get us any closer to identifying the precise context of the first performances of Pindar's songs for Hieron in the 470s. If we could be sure the performances were monodic, then we might move to the logical conclusion that they were performed at princely symposia in Hieron's palace, but the hypothesis of choral performance requires further specification. We should be clear that the odes themselves are going to give us little help here. As Peter Agócs has recently observed (using Iatromanolakis' distinction between performative and descriptive context), there is no natural connection between the "entextualised present" (the descriptive context in which the ode locates itself) and the moment of performance.[88] This means that we cannot use references to symposium or *kōmos* as decisive indicators of the context of the performance. Victors in the contests at panhellenic sanctuaries would probably have hosted celebratory banquets for

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[85] Morgan 1993.
[86] Cingano 2003: 22. See also Clay 1999: 33.
[87] On reperformance, see Currie 2004; Hubbard 2004; Morrison 2007: 7, 11, and *passim*; Budelmann 2012: 174 with n.4; Morrison 2012.
[88] Agócs 2012: 193–194.

visitors to the games, and these celebrations are good candidates for the onsite performance of shorter odes, such as Bacchylides 4.[89] The festivities would have showcased the victor's ostentatious generosity, spreading his fame, and that of his city, and doubtless the various victors strove to outdo each other in such expressions of glory and prestige.[90] Yet Pindar's odes for Hieron clearly locate themselves in Sicily, and even if they did not we would still have to reckon with a Sicilian encore presentation.[91]

There are several possibilities for Syracusan performance. We could envisage performance at a public festival and victory celebration, perhaps in the agora or open area in front of a temple. This sort of context would fit well with, for example, *Olympian* 3 for Theron of Akragas, which advertises its connection to the religious festival of the Theoxenia. A scholion to *Nemean* 1.7b tells us that "those associated with Hieron sang the epinicians composed for the crown contests at the contest and festival of Aitnaian Zeus."[92] This has suggested to Morrison both that *Nemean* 1 may have been performed at the Aitnaia festival at "a public symposium . . . linked to a public sacrificial ritual," and that this festival may also have been the occasion for the performance of *Pythian* 1.[93] A public presentation of this sort would have maximal propagandistic effect on the citizenry as a whole, as well as on foreign visitors, and would emphasize Hieron's centrality to the life of the city. The theater in Syracuse would be another possibility for such an event; if we can believe our sources, it was the location of festival performances for the cult of Artemis *Lyaia*, which involved singing a victory song for deliverance from a plague.[94]

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[89] For the possibility of performance of Bacchylides 4 at Delphi, see Maehler 2004: 100–101. Eckerman 2012 mounts a cogent argument that "the poems [of Pindar and Bacchylides] themselves provide no evidence for their performance at the sanctuaries" (339). Yet even if the internal evidence for such performances is considerably weaker than scholars have imagined, this does not, as he admits, entail that odes were *never* performed in panhellenic venues shortly after the victory.

[90] Schmitt-Pantel 1992: 187 ("Les consequences de cet émulation et de gestes ostentatoires dépassent le cadre et le temps des concurs pour prendre effet dans le cité de chacun des generaux vainqueurs"). Anaxilas of Rhegion feasted "all the Greeks" at Olympia after he won the mule-car race there ca. 480 (Aristotle [143.1.27 Gigon, p. 569] via Heraclides Lembus περὶ πολιτειῶν [= *Excerpta politiarum* 55 Dilts]). For Alcibiades' notorious banquet at Olympia after both winning and placing in the chariot race, see Ath. 3e; Plut. *Alc*. 11–12; Schmitt-Pantel 1992: 196–199.

[91] For the perspective in *O*. 1, see Chapter 6. Of course, nothing prevents us from thinking that even odes performed at the sanctuaries will have been repeated in the victor's home city.

[92] ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τοῦ Αἰτναίου Διὸς ᾖδον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἱέρωνα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς στεφανίταις ἀγῶσι πεποιημένους ἐπινίκους.

[93] Morrison 2007: 24, 67. For festival performance, see further Krummen 1990: 275–276 and passim. Currie 2004: 61–69 argues for reperformance at festivals, and Hubbard 2004: 75–80 for reperformance at the site of the athletic victory at the next convocation of the festival.

[94] Sources: Schol. Theoc. *Proleg*. B a; Diom. *G.L.* I p. 486 (Keil); Prob. *Verg. Ecl.* Praef. 324–325 (Hagen). On the performances, see Polacco and Anti 1981: 27; Kowalzig 2008: 143.

At the opposite end of the spectrum one might imagine a performance in relatively restricted space within Hieron's house (we may compare the opening of *Nemean* 9, where Pindar pictures the victory celebration arriving at the house of Chromios; or *Nemean* 1.19–20, where he declares he has taken his stand at the courtyard doors). Although I will be calling Hieron's house his "palace" this should not be taken to imply that it was comparable to, say, the Macedonian palace at Vergina. We are unfortunately handicapped by our almost complete ignorance of the configuration of princely and tyrannical residences in the Archaic period. This makes it difficult to speculate responsibly about how many guests may have attended a feast, and we risk circular argumentation on the basis of the number of guests we think would make an effective audience given our preconceptions about the social and political functions of the odes. The odes' association at the level of rhetoric with the symposium and *kōmos* makes connecting their performance with a feast sensible. If the hypothesis of choral performance is maintained, it cannot have taken place in a dining room of the sort with which we are familiar in the Archaic and Classical periods, which could (at their largest) accommodate a maximum of only thirty-four reclining guests and whose central space would probably not have provided enough room for a choral presentation.[95] We must, then, envision a larger banqueting area—probably an exterior space where a tent could be pitched for larger festivities. A model that focuses on the function of the odes within the polis will likely envision performance in front of the widest possible audience. A model that privileges a closed aristocratic circle might well project a much more restricted audience. The reading that I undertake in this study aims to set the songs for Hieron in the widest possible Sicilian and wider Greek context, so perhaps unsurprisingly I find it most sensible to posit an extended audience and would want to reconstruct an audience of at least one hundred.[96]

The notion of the princely banquet has been attractive for those concerned to reconstruct the performance context for Pindar's victory odes for royal patrons. Massimo Vetta imagined such a banquet as a particular type of symposium: a private occasion but one with an ample audience, linked to a preceding public celebration.[97] It would take place at the princely palace

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[95] Bergquist 1990 surveys the preserved archaeological evidence for the size of dining rooms. Very large dining rooms (those exceeding a three-couch wall length) date from the later fifth century onward, and the largest preserved long walls are 16–17 meters long (as in the Macedonian palace at Vergina). These largest rooms could, then, perhaps fit as many as thirty-one couches (1990: 48–51). Figuring two to a couch, this size would accommodate around sixty or more diners. None of the fifth-century dining rooms studied by Bergquist would have held more than seventeen couches.

[96] Cf. Athanassaki 2009: 260–262 on the setting for *O*. 1 projected in the poem.

[97] Vetta 1983: xxv, "un simposio di tipo ben particolare, riunione privata ma piuttosto ampia, legato a una celebrazione che doveva essere preceduta dal suo corrispettivo pubblico."

and would be the performance context for poetry that was not destined for the official public victory celebration but was parallel to it, such as (in his view) *O*. 2, *P*. 4, *I*. 2, and various *skolia*.[98] Vetta is working with a distinction between two types of odes, those for a wide public celebration and those for a more restricted audience. The problem is that the suitability of particular odes for particular types of performance can lie in the eye of the beholder. Thus the peculiarities of *Olympian* 2 make a restricted audience plausible for Vetta, while others have viewed it as the "official" epinician for the chariot victory in 476.[99] Even in the case of the songs classified by the Alexandrians as *enkomia* we cannot be sure of how restricted the audience was. Felix Budelmann has recently investigated the descriptive contexts of *enkomia* versus epinicians and has concluded that *enkomia* locate themselves more explicitly in the realm of the symposium understood in the narrow sense of a restricted drinking party: "the *symposion* references *point explicitly to the performance context of the song itself*."[100] Yet even in this instance, we cannot know the size of the symposium or the mode of performance. Cingano argues that since *enkomia* and epinician serve the same propagandistic goal, we cannot be too procrustean in restricting the performance of *enkomia* to small audiences and suggests the possibility of choral performance, perhaps at Vetta's princely banquet.[101]

The problem is exacerbated by some imprecision in the use of the term *symposium*. In an important article, Jenny Clay suggested that the symposium, broadly conceived to include even large public banquets, should be seen as "the immediate context for epinician performance."[102] Such a symposium would, of course, include the princely banquet, but also public banquets where the entire populace would be entertained (similar to the banquets at panhellenic sanctuaries referred to above). This model thus stands behind the idea of a "public symposium" that has been suggested for the performance of *Nemean* 1, *Pythian* 6, and *Olympian* 3.[103]

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[98] Vetta 1983: xxvi–xxvii.

[99] See the discussion of Morrison 2007: 46 with n. 31.

[100] Budelmann 2012: 182–185 (quote at 183).

[101] Cingano 2003: 37–40, 42–43.

[102] Clay 1999 (quote at 25–26).

[103] Morrison 2007: 24, 43, 53–54. Vetta 1996: 203–204 proposes five types of symposia, ranging from drinking in the open air following a public festival to the private symposium following a meal. Of most interest to us here is his option two: the symposium held in a royal palace or dining room of a sanctuary after a public sacrificial banquet. Vetta's focus in this article is the performance of monody rather than choral lyric, but it is worth keeping in mind his insistence (205) that archaic monody was surely destined for all the various forms of commensality, including public banquets.

Yet we may wonder whether this stretches the term too far; if the term can cover Alcibiades' banquet at Olympia, it may perhaps be too general to be useful. Pauline Schmitt-Pantel brings up the interesting example of the banquet given by Kleisthenes of Sikyon for his daughter's wedding, to which the entire population of the city was invited (Hdt. 6.129) and which was followed by drinking and competitive song and speech.[104] Is it useful to call this a symposium? Perhaps we should rather follow the lead of Budelmann and use the term *feast* or *banquet* instead for the festive meals and drinking that would probably have accompanied the performance of epinician, while acknowledging that the rhetorical links between the symposium and the context for the odes are strong ones.[105] This would have the advantage of presenting us with a performative continuum for the victory celebration, from the massive festivities that will surely have taken place near temples and the agora to large banquets at the palace peopled by visiting dignitaries, friends, companions, and family of the tyrant, to (possibly) the symposium proper in Hieron's intimate dining room.

Where does this leave us with regard to the performance of Pindar's (and Bacchylides') poetry for Hieron in Sicily? Bearing in mind the population engineering performed at Syracuse by Gelon and at Aitna by Hieron, it seems safe to say that much of the citizen population could be thought to have an investment in the construction of royal persona and civic identity we see in the odes. One of the functions of this poetry may have been to reinforce the ties of loyalty that existed (or that Hieron hoped existed) between the ruler and the ruled. It would thus be in Hieron's interest to maximize the size of the audience. Performance in the open in connection with a large victory festival and banquet should thus be considered a probable option. This need not, however, rule out additional performance scenarios. Why could the princely banquet at the palace with friends and dignitaries (either before or after the public banquet, but preferably before) not serve as another occasion for choral performance? Nor does this exhaust the possibilities. Personal experience with music teaches us that when we like a song we want to hear it more than once. Is it then possible that (e.g.) a week later Hieron could ask Pindar (if present) or a musical expert for a monodic performance in his banquet hall or personal dining room? I think it is. All such performances could be included in the ambit of the victory celebration. Outside this context, we might envision performances on the anniversary of victory or at the next occurrence of

[104] Schmitt-Pantel 1990: 21.
[105] Budelmann 2012: 180–182.

the panhellenic contest, or at local festivals.[106] The much-cited scholion to *Nemean* 1.7b ("those associated with Hieron sang the epinicians composed for the crown contests at the contest and festival of Aitnaian Zeus.") has been used to argue for a première of *Pythian* 1 at the festival, and this may well be true.[107] It also, however, permitted the possibility that multiple odes for the crown contests were reperformed at that festival, so that an evening's performance might comprise several odes enriching each other and impressing by accumulation.[108] If we add to these possibilities the prospect of informal reperformance in Sicily and Greece as a whole and the circulation of the odes as written texts, we may begin to get a feel for the proliferation of the victory songs both as texts and in performance. Hieron, to use Pindar's metaphor, spread his sails to the wind, and he enjoyed favorable breezes.

Patronage and Fees

This is not the place to try to untangle the complex set of issues surrounding patronage at the end of the Archaic and the Early Classical period, but some account is needed of the relationship I see obtaining between Hieron and poets such as Pindar and Bacchylides since this affects our view of the dynamics of their poetry. To what extent was the relationship between king and poet seen as one of commercial exchange? Much scholarship toward the end of the last century was keen to stress that lyric poetry at this time was making a decisive break with earlier conceptions. Instead of the poet inspired by the Muse and religiously dependent on her, we see the development of a more rational and secularized poetry, and in keeping with the emergence of a money economy, one that conceives the poet as an unashamed paid professional.[109] In its extreme version, this approach could insist that "the choral poet had no choice. Like every worker he depended on pay from his labor."[110] Anecdotes reporting that Simonides was the first poet to work for a fee, and that Pindar had charged a fee of three thousand

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[106] For these reperformance scenarios, see note 87.

[107] Morrison 2007: 67; Athanassaki 2009: 260–261; Ferrari 2012: 159 and 163–167 (where he argues for the performance of *Pythian* 2 at the Festival of Zeus Aitnaios: "This festival for Aitna was probably a banquet arranged among the nobles." I see no reason, however, to assume that this festival would have been so restricted.).

[108] For intertextual resonances between the odes, see Morrison 2007: 30–34, 76–77, 84–88, 94–98, 101–108.

[109] Gzella 1971; Svenbro 1976: 141, 163–180; Gentili 1985/1988: 115, 159–166; Bremer 1991.

[110] Svenbro 1976: 173: "le poète choral n'avait pas le choix: comme tout ouvrier il dépendait de la rémunération de son travail."

drachmas for *Nemean* 5, helped generate this picture, and unsurprisingly this raised questions about poetic "sincerity."[111] If poetic talent is for hire, how can one discern whether the poet means what he says? Would praise from such a poet be socially and politically valuable? This in turn could lead to the conclusion that the poet might feel uncomfortable with the situation and incorporate this discomfort in his poetry. The most famous example of this would be the opening of Pindar's *Isthmian* 2, where he contrasts the erotic poets of old with the contemporary "mercenary Muse."[112] Poetic insistence on truth and sincerity could thus be seen as traces of the development of a system of professional ethics that gives absolute priority to truth.[113] The stark formulation of the commercial model soon attracted justifiable criticism. The idea that the poet "had no choice" but to accept commissions and write at the pleasure of his patron is clearly too reductive a way of understanding this relationship, and one that makes the attractions of this type of poetry for patrons and broader audiences difficult to understand.[114] A more nuanced picture was needed.

The work of Leslie Kurke on "social economy" in Pindar's poetry helped to illuminate the complex ways in which Pindar plays with the issues of money and exchange. Kurke suggests that Pindar disguises the contractual link that exists between himself and the commissioner by assimilating their relationship to that of *xenia*, aristocratic guest-friendship, a strategy all the more useful because in some cases the poet will have traveled to the house of the victor to be entertained while he prepared the performance of the ode.[115] Recently however, there has been some discomfort even with the notion of disguising the relationship, and overall with the suggestion that financial exchange of various types was a source of anxiety to the poet. Hayden Pelliccia argues that it is a profound mistake to believe that epinician song was composed for a fee; we have no real evidence for the socioeconomic class of poets such as Pindar, and we should rather think of the poet as a member of an elite social network, whose compositional activity ranged from public festivals to private occasions.[116] Ewen Bowie,

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[111] Schol. ad Ar. *Pax* 697b; Schol. ad Pind. *N*. 5.1a.

[112] Bremer 1991: 53. For an important survey of the issues associated with *I*. 2, together with an attempt at a solution, see Kurke 1991: 240–256, and most recently Bowie 2012: 89–90.

[113] Gentili 1985/1988: 166.

[114] Goldhill 1991: 143 n. 248 "the complex dialectic between contractual, fictional, and social imperatives cannot be adequately expressed in this way as an opposition between (sincere) financial contract and a fiction of praise—an opposition which seems to depend to a worrying degree on Romantic notions of artistic integrity, sincerity, originality." Kurke 1991: 233–239 gives a sensitive analysis of passages thought to parade Pindar's dependence on pay.

[115] Kurke 1991: 135–146, 154–159.

[116] Pelliccia 2009: 243–247.

too, focuses on the variety that must have characterized Pindar's relationships with the objects of his song and more broadly on the variety of ways a poet might be rewarded. He disputes that Pindar's poetry exhibits any anxiety over pay and observes that Pindar existed in an economy "in which both μισθός (in many forms) and the giving and receiving of gifts (in many forms) operated side by side." No one model is likely to cover all cases.[117] This is an important point. Although an anecdotal source speaks of Pindar "asking for" three thousand drachmas to compose *Nemean* 5, we do not know whether the poet was always rewarded in coin (even assuming the accuracy of the scholiast's information) or whether he regularly had a discussion of this kind with those who wanted to celebrate their achievement in song. It seems probable that he composed songs without reward for friends, and that on other occasions he discussed some form of remuneration. Yet I imagine that he also entered into vaguer arrangements, when talk would have been of "presents." As Bowie points out, the distinction between payment and a gift can be difficult to make.[118] Even Bruno Gentili, who is committed to the commercial model, can speak of a poet who "works for a patron and receives in return some valuable gift—an 'honorarium' in the true sense of the word, and one capable if need be of being increased."[119]

As usual, in the absence of hard evidence, adjudication is difficult; we are faced with the task of evaluating a certain rhetoric and its constitutive tone. If Pindar speaks of Hieron as a guest-friend, just what does he mean? How seriously should we take the picture of victors and their friends joined in sympotic or festive conversation? Does the fee model entail seeing poets as dependent hirelings? It is, I believe, perfectly correct to point to the self-confident tone taken by Pindar in his songs for Hieron and others, but does this mask an underlying anxiety or express the attitude of a social equal? Like Bowie, I do not believe that Pindar felt anxious about his relationship with his patrons, nor that he felt dependent on them. Hieron may be incomparably more powerful than Pindar, but Pindar and those like him have something that Hieron wants: culturally approved poetic memorialization. They may choose to give or withhold their praise, and they do not have to accept every invitation. This cultural power goes some way toward explaining Pindar's tone. It does not, however, mean that Pindar was Hieron's social equal. My working hypothesis is that Hieron invited Pindar to compose for him and visit his court,

[117] Bowie 2012: 91.
[118] Bowie 2012: 87–88.
[119] Gentili 1985/1988: 115.

that he intimated he would make the stay worth Pindar's while, and that the poet would not find him ungenerous in his hospitality (which would include gifts worthy of so esteemed a servant of the Muses). We may, if we are so inclined, call this a fee, but such a word does not do justice to the complex dynamics of the situation. As I have already noted, the relationship between a poet and the object of his praise would have been a perennial site of tension and liable to a variety of (mis)conceptions. This is why Pindar emphasizes his status and projects a vision of ease and independence. His personal view is irrecoverable, although I imagine that he would probably not have thought of himself as a mere hireling or dependent, an issue that comes to the fore in an apocryphal saying attributed to him: when asked why he did not, like Simonides, go abroad to Sicily to stay with the tyrants there, he answered "Because I wish to live for myself, not someone else."[120] The odds of this statement being historical are slim indeed, but apart from the conventional swipe at Simonides, it dramatizes the conclusion we are inclined to draw from his poetry: his independence and power. He was not a permanently resident court poet, and in his own, separate sphere was as superior as Hieron. As will be seen in the next section, this twin preeminence was expressed in the double comparison of himself and the victor to an eagle.

Even if the poet was not seen, and did not see himself, as a hireling or dependent, questions of self-interest and the validity of praise must always have arisen. As Ruth Scodel points out, the "awareness of the self-interested quality of narrative causes special problems for the authority of the Greek poet."[121] This is so even when narrative is not generated in return for a fee, and it is especially problematic when the subject of one's poetry is a king, where the power differential is great enough that questions of whether Pindar worked for cash payments, tripods, chariots, or the best seat at the banquet table may have been beside the point. Any praise poetry carries with it the risk of annoying those who are not praised, and it is in this light that we generally interpret Pindar's statements of prudent reserve that he will hold back in his praises because to recount every detail brings on boredom, disgust, and envy, or his protestations of sincerity emphasized with an oath.[122] Kingship magnified this risk. Even though Pindar was not a subject of Hieron, royal preeminence intensified endemic fears about poetic truth. The institution of

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[120] Drachmann 1903: vol. I, 3.20–22 (ἐπερωτηθεὶς πάλιν διὰ τί Σιμωνίδης πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ θέλει· ὅτι βούλομαι, εἶπεν, ἐμαυτῷ ζῆν, οὐκ ἄλλῳ).
[121] Scodel 2001: 110.
[122] Mackie 2003: 9–22.

monarchy gathered around itself anxieties about the kind of speech it generated. The Persian invasions and the theorization of Persian monarchy that came in their wake increased these anxieties, rendering royal praise poetry a particularly fraught endeavor. In the next section, I shall examine the development of monarchical stereotypes and one strategy through which Pindar neutralized the threat it posed to the effectiveness of his praise.

The Discourse of Tyranny

Phalaris

Sicily itself was home to one powerful model of the horrors of tyranny. At the end of *Pythian* 1.96–98, Pindar refers to the "hateful report" that characterizes Phalaris, "he who with a pitiless mind burned people in the brazen bull, nor do the lyres of the household admit him in gentle fellowship to the conversations of boys." The reference is to Phalaris of Akragas, tyrant of that city in (probably) the second quarter of the sixth century, at a time when Akragas was expanding its influence toward the east.[123] A complex mythology surrounds Phalaris. Stories of his ascension to power are often doublets of anecdotes about the rise of Theron in the early fifth century, although it is unclear which way round the doubling operates. Theron's relationship with this negative prototype is complex. On the one hand, Phalaris may have been elaborated as Theron's other, but there are also strong similarities. Both are reported to have ruled for sixteen years and to have become tyrant as a result of being supervisor of building operations for a temple.[124] This connection between Phalaris and Theron, Hieron's contemporary and rival, is itself significant as an indication of how tyrannical figures tend to be assimilated to preexisting patterns. Even more interesting, however, is that Phalaris became a byword for tyrannical cruelty and that this development occurred in the late sixth or early fifth century. A fragment of Aristotle reports that "not only did he slaughter many, but he employed lawless punishments. He put some into boiling cauldrons and others into mixing vessels full of fire. Others he cast into a bronze bull and incinerated them" (Arist. Fr. 611.69 [Rose]). In the *Nichomachean Ethics*, Phalaris is a model of bestial incontinence, and he is mentioned in the context of cannibalism, particularly of eating children (*Eth. Nic.* 7.5.1148b21–24; 1149a13–15).

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[123] Luraghi 1994: 27–28.

[124] de Waele 1971: 103–104; Murray 1992: 50–51; Luraghi 1994: 28–31.

These details arise partly from the elaboration of tyrannical stereotypes in the fifth and fourth centuries. Thus Plato, when he has Socrates talk of the perversions of tyrants in *Republic* Book 9 (571c–d), remarks that such a soul will not hesitate to try to have sex with his mother or indeed with any one whatsoever, human, god, or beast. There is no one he will shrink from murdering, nor any food from which he will refrain. At the end of the Myth of Er in *Republic* 10, when souls about to be reincarnated select their new lives, the first soul to chose selects too hastily the life of a tyrant, and then bewails his foolishness when he sees that this life entails eating his own children (619b–c). The great monarchical families of Attic tragedy have a decided propensity for myths of cannibalism and kin killing, and Jean-Pierre Vernant's 1982 study found elements of incest and perverted generational relationships both in the myth of Oedipus and in our (quasi-)historical accounts of the Cypselid tyranny in Corinth.[125] I shall return to myths of cannibalism and sexual transgression in my analysis of Pindar's *Olympian* 1 and *Pythian* 2, but for my present purposes it is enough to note that elaboration of a tyrant's lawless appetites and incontinence is active during the fifth century and is hardening into stereotype by the fourth. The development of such paradigms is of obvious relevance for Pindar's treatment of his tyrannical patrons. What is less clear is the extent to which such models were already in the air in the early part of the fifth century and who was responsible for their development.

Certainly, the presence of Phalaris with his bull at the end of *Pythian* 1 (and his juxtaposition with the kindly King Kroisos) is proof that the process was already off to a good start. Pindar treats the story as well known, and indeed it seems likely that the growth of Phalaris mythology is well placed at the end of the sixth century and beginning of the fifth. Precision is more difficult. Nino Luraghi has wanted to see this development as a creation of aristocratic Akragas in the late sixth century, when myths about King Minos in Sicily were also undergoing elaboration, possibly in connection with closer links with Gela and the downplaying of ties with Rhodes at that time. Others, however, link the growth of Phalaris mythology with Theron, and this is my preference also.[126] Theron's own tyranny (he reigned from 488 to 472 B.C.), as well as (perhaps) consciousness of the powerful Persian paradigm to the east, is a good context for mythology that set up a negative paradigm of autocratic rule against which the current tyrant could be favorably compared. As we shall see, Pindar's poetry for Hieron of Syracuse can be profitably understood as locating Hieron at the positive pole of the

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[125.] Vernant 1982; cf. Seaford 2003.

[126.] Luraghi 1994: 37–411; Braccesi 1988: 10.

good-king, bad-king dichotomy, casting Phalaris and other transgressive figures (such as Tantalos and Ixion) as his negative counterpart. There is a certain economy in seeing both tyrants engaged in the same mythological patterning, and even if it was the aristocrats preceding Theron who started the process, the Phalaris figure could still have served the same purpose for Theron as it did for Pindar and Hieron. In 470, moreover, when Pindar wrote *Pythian* 1, Theron had been dead for two years and at some point thereafter his son Thrasydaios, described by Diodorus as "violent," "murderous," and prone to "lawlessness" (11.53.2), was defeated by Hieron in battle and subsequently expelled from Akragas. Negative paradigms against which Hieron could measure himself were thus ready to hand in both myth and reality. At the very least, then, we can say that the mythology of brutal tyranny was readily available to Pindar as he meditated on his image of Hieron, and could, however it was originally deployed in Akragas, conveniently be associated with the city that was Syracuse's greatest contemporary rival.

Flattery, Jealousy, and Fear

Quite apart from contemporary myths of tyranny, we can see in Pindar's poetry evidence of a response to concerns about the kind of speech characteristic of autocratic systems. Once again, the best evidence for such anxieties comes from after Pindar's time, but I suggest that we can see in his insistence on Hieron's generosity and freedom from envy, as well as on his own rejection of slander and freedom to give high-minded advice, an implicit response to accusations that monarchy was a breeding ground for envy, slander, and flattery. The rejection of these evils, is, of course, a fundamental aspect of epinician poetic strategy and is not confined to odes for tyrants, but if they were thought of as particular maladies of tyrannical government, Pindar's strategies in the Hieron odes will be doubly meaningful.

By the time of Herodotus, anxieties concerning flattery and free speech under a monarchy had reached the level of commonplaces. In the "Constitutional Debate," the Persian Otanes characterizes the evils of monarchy:

> You would have thought that a tyrant should be without envy, since he has all good things, but the opposite of this happens with regard to his citizens. For he is envious of the best men who survive in safety and he delights in the worst of the townsmen, and he is the best of all at believing slanders. He is the most inconsistent of all men, for if you admire him moderately, he is irritated that he is not courted enthusiastically; if someone courts him

> enthusiastically, he is annoyed at him as a flatterer. And I shall proceed to narrate his greatest sins: he disturbs ancestral customs, he rapes women, and he kills people without trial. (3.80.4–5)

As well as referring to the tyrant's sexual and legal transgressions, this passage isolates several phenomena that are important for our understanding of the poetic dynamics of epinician monarchy: envy, slander, and flattery. A monarch is envious, likes to hear people slandered, and demands that those in converse with him tread a very fine line between flattery and reserve. By the time Plato writes the *Republic*, even this reserve is gone. Not only does the tyrant demand flattery but, in a characteristically Platonic move, is a flatterer himself during his rise to power:

> When they associate with people, they either associate with flatterers who are ready to be subordinate to them in every way, or if they want something from somebody, they themselves grovel, daring to make all sorts of show of themselves in the pretence that they are friends, although they change once they have achieved their goal. (575e–576a)

A man who is tyrannical in nature is ruled by erotic desire and lives a life of "festivals and revels and banquets and courtesans" (ἑορταὶ γίγνονται παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ κῶμοι καὶ θάλειαι καὶ ἑταῖραι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, 573d—note the overlap here with the vocabulary of epinician festivity). An actual tyrant lives the life of a prisoner, full of envy of other citizens for their freedom to travel (579b) and compelled, in certain circumstances, to be a flatterer of his slaves (579a).

We need not believe that this model was fully developed in Pindar's time to see its relevance for the Hieron odes. If envy, flattery, and slander are endemic to tyrannical regimes, the relationship between praise poet and patron in such a regime is fraught indeed and must be carefully assessed. Here is a person who is constrained both by genre and by hopes of favor (of whatever kind) to speak well of power. Once again, this is not a concern that is restricted to tyrannical patrons, but it becomes most pressing in such situations. When we compare the features of the tyrannical model as analyzed above with the protocols of responsible song in epinician (such as the studied avoidance of flattery and restraint in the matter of giving excessive attention), the discrepancy is instructive. If Pindar's protestations of Hieron's generosity and wisdom are effective, then his audience will be convinced that Hieron does not correspond to a negative paradigm

of monarchy/tyranny. Yet if he fails to persuade he will himself be convicted of base flattery of an undeserving subject. He needs to find a stance that will not be suspect and whose very nature exonerates him of flattery and acting under the influence of tyrannical oppression. Pindar found this in the pose of the wise advisor; the greater the force of his admonitions, the less he can be suspected of flattery, and Hieron's willingness to associate with and reward such a voice can act as powerful evidence of his bona fides. Poets and wise men were often cast as purveyors of sound advice (usually ignored) to those in power. Solon appears in Herodotus as such a figure, and (as we have seen) tradition made Simonides an advisor to Hieron.[127] When Pindar opens up his gnomic store for his tyrannical patrons, he is tapping into this authoritative paradigm and distancing himself from the flattery paradigm. Indeed, it is the authority of Pindar's poetic persona that is his most important weapon in disarming suspicions of obsequiousness. The next section explores a complex of imagery that illustrates a particular aspect of this persona. Although its application is broader than the tyrant odes, it carries particular resonance in a tyrannical context.

Poets and Birds of Prey

In my analysis of *Olympian* 1, I shall suggest that Pindar constructs a positive picture of the dynamic relationship between authoritative speech (of which poetry is a variety), kingship, and poetry, by evoking themes from Hesiod's *Theogony.* Yet the *Works and Days* can also help us to examine this dynamic and shed light on Pindar's deployment of a striking complex of imagery: the poet/victor as eagle. The image of the eagle appears with relative frequency in the poetry of Pindar and once in the epinician poetry of Bacchylides. As Deborah Steiner points out, the eagle is a flexible and useful image for Pindar. Its speed, mobility, and mastery over the elements, along with its status as the bird of Zeus, make it an ideal analogue for the poet's song, as well as for the superiority of the victorious athlete.[128] What is most interesting is that unlike Bacchylides, who calls himself "the nightingale of Keos" (3.98), or Hesiod, who compares the singer to a nightingale in a passage we shall consider shortly, Pindar does not call himself a nightingale. Steiner suggests that bird imagery was

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[127] On the wise advisor in Herodotus, see Lattimore 1939. See Stoneman 1984: 43–44 for an anticipation of my approach here. Stoneman's interest is with *P.* 2, where, he suggests, Pindar adopts the mode of a courtier rather than a peer but also takes on the attributes of a wise advisor, for whom frank speech is a form of praise.

[128] Steiner 1986: 104–105, 107; Pfeijffer 1994: 307–308.

important to Pindar for conveying the range of poetic motion, rather than voice, and this seems correct; but another dynamic is also at work, one that becomes most pointed in his tyrant odes.

As it does in Homer, the eagle in Pindar can serve as an omen revealing the will or favor of Zeus. At *Isthmian* 6.49–50, it appears in answer to Herakles' prayer that his host beget a mighty son. References to eagles can reveal the superlative character of the victor, as at *Pythian* 5.112, where King Arkesilas is said to be an "eagle among birds," or of a god, as at *Pythian* 2.50, where we are told that god overtakes even the winged eagle. On several occasions, however, the reference of eagle imagery is uncertain and has caused lively debate.[129] At *Nemean* 5.119–123, Pindar uses the image as part of his transition from the rejected tale of the murder of Phokos and subsequent exile of Peleus and Telamon to the story of Peleus' marriage on Pelion, which was attended by the gods: "Let someone dig out a great jumping pit for me. I have a light spring in my knees and eagles leap beyond the sea." Although Richard Stoneman has attempted to connect the eagle imagery with the Aiakid victors of the poem, Ilja Pfeijffer is surely right to insist that the primary referent here is the poet.[130] Matters are more complicated at *Nemean* 3.76–84, where the eagle appears as a bird of prey in a context of poetic self-reference:

> I am sending you honey mixed with white milk . . . a draught of song among the Aiolian breaths of pipes, late though it is. But the eagle is swift among winged birds, who snatches suddenly his bloodied prey with his feet, searching it out from afar, and the squawking jackdaws keep low down. For you, with the good will of Kleio on her fair throne, because of your prizewinning character, light has shone from Nemea, Epidauros, and Megara.

The sudden and successful swoop of the eagle clearly looks to the (feigned?) lateness of the ode, which has now triumphantly arrived. Yet the description of the victor immediately following, as Pfeijffer has argued, also encourages us to apply the eagle's preeminence to the *laudandus*.[131]

In neither of these two examples is the victor a monarch, but this situation changes in two passages from Pindar and Bacchylides. At *Olympian* 2.83–90 (an ode written for Theron's chariot victory of 476), Pindar states:

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[129] Lefkowitz 1969: 54–56; Stoneman 1976; Hubbard 1986: 17; Pfeijffer 1994.
[130] Pfeijffer 1994: 309–311; Stoneman 1976: 194–195.
[131] Pfeijffer 1994: 314.

πολλά μοι ὑπ᾽
ἀγκῶνος ὠκέα βέλη
ἔνδον ἐντὶ φαρέτρας
φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν· ἐς δὲ τὸ πὰν ἑρμανέων
χατίζει. σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾷ·
μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι
παγγλωσσίᾳ κόρακες ὣς ἄκραντα γαρυέτων
Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον·
ἔπεχε νῦν σκοπῷ τόξον, ἄγε θυμέ· τίνα βάλλομεν
ἐκ μαλθακᾶς αὖτε φρενὸς εὐκλέας ὀ-
ϊστοὺς ἱέντες;

I have many swift missiles under my arm
in my quiver,
which speak to the wise, and they thoroughly need interpreters.[132]
Wise is he who knows many things by nature,
but those who have learned,
let them sing vain songs like crows in their wordiness
against the divine bird of Zeus.
Come now my heart, aim your bow at the target.
At whom shall we shoot,
launching again our arrows of fair fame from our kindly mind?

In this complex passage, "natural" wisdom is played off against learning in a description of poetic production and reception. The poet is himself wise, and his terse and oracular pronouncements are understood by those who are wise and share his thought world. Those without this talent are like crows who speak much but say little. These crows can be either rival poets or those greedy men who, in subsequent lines of the poem, try to obscure the noble deeds of the good with their chatter (95–98). Thus the passage is cited by Pfeijffer as an example of "polyinterpretability": "Pindar has carefully formulated this passage in order to permit the application of the gnomic idea to both human activities referred to in the context, i.e., to both Theron's athletic and political ambitions and Pindar's own profession as poet."[133] Both Pindar and Theron, then, are the divine bird of Zeus.

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[132] For the translation here, see Most 1986.
[133] Pfeijffer 1994: 313.

Finally, Bacchylides 5.14–36, written for Hieron's horse-race victory of 476, uses the same image. The poet:

ἐθέλει {δὲ}
γᾶρυν ἐκ στηθέων χέων
αἰνεῖν Ἱέρωνα. βαθὺν
δ' αἰθέρα ξουθαῖσι τάμνων
ὑψοῦ πτερύγεσσι ταχεί-
αις αἰετὸς εὐρυάνακτος ἄγγελος
Ζηνὸς ἐρισφαράγου
θαρσεῖ κρατερᾷ πίσυνος
ἰσχύϊ, πτάσσοντι δ' ὄρνι-
χες λιγύφθογγοι φόβῳ·
οὔ νιν κορυφαὶ μεγάλας ἴσχουσι γαίας,
οὐδ' ἁλὸς ἀκαμάτας
δυσπαίπαλα κύματα· νω-
μᾷ δ' ἐν ἀτρύτῳ χάει
λεπτότριχα σὺν ζεφύρου πνοι-
αῖσιν ἔθειραν ἀρί-
γνωτος ἀνθρώποις ἰδεῖν·

τὼς νῦν καὶ <ἐ>μοὶ μυρία πάντᾳ κέλευθος
ὑμετέραν ἀρετὰν
ὑμνεῖν, κυανοπλοκάμου θ' ἕκατι Νίκας
χαλκεοστέρνου τ' Ἄρηος,
Δεινομένευς ἀγέρωχοι
παῖδες·

. . . wishes, pouring forth his voice from his chest,
to praise Hieron. Cleaving on high the deep aether
with his swift tawny wings, the eagle, the messenger
of wide-ruling loud-thundering Zeus, is confident,
relying on his mighty
strength, and the shrill-voiced birds cower in fear.
The peaks of the great earth do not constrain him,
nor the difficult waves of the untiring sea.
He wields in the unwearied void
his fine-feathered plumage on the blasts of the west wind
conspicuous for men to see.

So now for me also there is a measureless path in every direction
to hymn your excellence, because of dark-tressed Victory
and bronze-breasted Ares,
you lordly sons of Deinomenes.

Here too we may detect the application of the image to victor and poet.[134] The eagle is both the poet, whose material allows him to range widely and without constraint (a comparison made explicit in line 31), and the victor, who is isolated and far-famed in his excellence (the image of the eagle soaring conspicuously in the void should remind us of the priamel of *Olympian* 1, on which see Chapter 6).[135]

What is notable about the passages from *Nemean* 3, *Olympian* 2, and Bacchylides 5 is that they all include a rivalry between lesser birds and the mighty eagle, and they all do so in terms that apply to both the poet and the victor.[136] Furthermore, they are all most probably composed over the space of two years: *Olympian* 2 and Bacchylides 5 belong to the same year (476), and although the date of *Nemean* 3 is uncertain, 475 is a strong possibility. The poet-victor-eagle complex was thus worked out to its greatest degree of subtlety in the two poems written for Sicilian tyrant patrons, and it continued to cast a shadow. It is, moreover, in these two poems that the multivalent theme of the eagle's superiority (on the level of poetic production and reception) is combined with reference to the eagle as the bird of Zeus. The picture that emerges is clear: the victor (twice a tyrant) is aligned with the poet and with the eagle, which is variously conceived as the messenger of Zeus (a function that underlines its relationship with the poet) or as a symbol of Zeus-like power. Opponents of these favored humans and of the bird cower in fear, and we are reminded that in Homer the eagle is an efficient and deadly predator, to whom rampaging warriors may be compared.[137] In Pindar these opponents are figured in terms that emphasize their status as producers of

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[134] Lefkowitz 1969: 54–56; cf. Cummins 2010b: 12 (who notes also [12–14] how the reference to the sons of Deinomenes "evokes fleetingly and allusively an array of Deinomenid achievements as a backdrop for Hieron's equestrian victories").

[135] Pfeijffer 1994: 316 sees the primary application of the image as being to the victor. Yet if the cowering birds in *O*. 2 can be poetic, I see no reason Bacchylides' timid birds cannot also be poets. Since the opening of the ode mentions the sending of the ode from Keos to Syracuse, references to the ease of the eagle's travel over mountains and across the sea have a natural connection with the poet and his poetry.

[136] They all, moreover, use the image in context of the transmission of the poet's message to the victor and audience. The transitivity of the song through space maps onto the transitivity of the eagle image as it swoops back and forth between poet and victor.

[137] *Iliad* 15.690 (of Hector attacking like an eagle against a flock of swans or geese or cranes); 17.674 (Menelaos looks around for his prey like the eagle who has keen sight); 21.252 (of Achilles who resembles the eagle).

sound: jackdaws in *Nemean* 3 and wordy crows in *Olympian* 2. They can be interpreted either as inferior poets or as jealous citizens who slander the victor rather than give him his due.

Comparison of the victor to an eagle is relatively unsurprising, but the poet's self-figuration as one is more so.[138] I suggest that behind this image may lie one of the most important traditional paradigms of the relationship between the singer and the powerful, Hesiod's parable of the hawk and the nightingale in *Works and Days* (202–211).[139] If Pindar wanted to fit a royal patron into preexisting traditions of Greek kingship in a way that maximized his own role as authoritative poetic advisor, Hesiod was an ideal choice for a model. Like Pindar, Hesiod was from Boeotia (perhaps two centuries before Pindar's own time), and an extensive tradition of genealogical and wisdom literature had become attached to his name. The tale of the hawk and the nightingale is, says Hesiod, "a fable for kings who understand":

> Thus the hawk addressed the nightingale with its variegated neck
> As it carried her high in the clouds, grasping her in its talons.
> And she made a pitiful lament, pierced as she was by its curved talons,
> But the hawk addressed a speech to her with overwhelming mastery:
> "Strange creature, why are you shrieking? Someone much better than you holds you.
> You will go wherever I take you, even though you are a singer,
> And I shall make you my dinner if I like, or let you go.
> It's a fool who wishes to set himself against his betters;
> He loses his victory and suffers pain in addition to the disgrace."

The interpretation of this riddle *(ainos)* has long been a problem in Hesiodic scholarship.[140] Traditionally the nightingale has been associated with Hesiod and the hawk with the corrupt kings (local rulers) who are helping his brother Perses unjustly cheat him out of his inheritance. The problem with this interpretation is that elsewhere in the poem, Hesiod insists that justice (sponsored by Zeus) always triumphs over *hubris*, outrageous

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[138] For the poet as songbird, see Nünlist 1998: 39–45, 48–54; for eagles, 56–59; cf. Stoneman 1976: 188.

[139] For a similar approach to this passage, see Steiner 2007, who also sees Hesiod lurking behind Pindar's eagle images but focuses more on the generic implications of the contrast between songbird and bird of prey, so that Hesiod's hawk is representative of Iliadic values (181–182), while Pindar's crows and jackdaws are akin both to Homeric boasters and to exponents of blame who lack the talent for encomium (189–190).

[140] On Hesiod's hawk and nightingale as *ainos*, see Nagy 1979: 238–241, 1990: 256.

behavior, and this seems to sit ill with a fable in which power and might are supreme. Some interpreters, therefore, have identified the nightingale with Perses (who has foolishly become involved in the machinations of the kings), or even the nightingale with the kings (since Hesiod's kings are closely associated with verbal performance) who will ultimately run afoul of the justice of Zeus represented by the hawk.[141]

This is not the place to attempt to solve the problems of this passage in detail, although I will remark that I find the traditional interpretation—the singer as Hesiod—most convincing. If the bird of prey represents the justice of Zeus, it is strange that it is not an eagle, and that the capriciousness of its activities is stressed: it can eat the nightingale or let her go, a strange image for inexorable justice. It is also a stretch to see the nightingale as Perses, for whose poetic activities we have, *pace* Thomas Hubbard, little evidence. It is the *longue durée* that gives the nightingale its victory and ensures that the words of justice endure: the poem itself answers the question of the hawk ("Why are you shrieking?"). The song of the nightingale is heard. Of even greater interest than modern interpretation, however, is the intriguing question of how a fifth-century poet such as Pindar might have read the passage. Mary Lefkowitz commented that the "combination of eagles and poetry [in Bacchylides 5] seems rather paradoxical after Hesiod's fable about the hawk and the nightingale in *Works and Days*, but there is no better indication of the new poetic self-confidence of the fifth century."[142] This remark captures in passing an important aspect of the epinician eagle images under consideration here, but it should be pressed further. More than a generalized fifth-century poetic self-confidence is at stake; it is a question of reconceiving the poet-patron dynamic.

I submit that Pindar may well have read the fable of the hawk and the nightingale as an examination of the poetics of power in the context of commissioned poetry, a cautionary tale of the responsibilities that might be thought to be owed to one's patron by the singer, who must go where the commissioner takes him. As we have seen, this danger is particularly severe when the commissioner is a tyrant, given that a tyrant is prone to surround himself with flatterers who say only what will please him. It is as if the institution of tyranny intensifies the worries inherent in the poet-patron relationship. Pindar's Hesiod thus protests that kings think they have the poet under their control, without realizing that the poet's song of justice is in fact more powerful than they. Yet for Pindar, times

[141] For Perses as the nightingale see Hubbard 1995 (with bibliography); for the kings, see Nelson 1997 (again, with bibliography).
[142] Lefkowitz 1969: 54.

have changed. He has confidence in his own power and importance as an advisor, and the wise king will realize that he and the poet/advisor exist in carefully constructed relations of reciprocity. The description of Hesiod's hawk, moreover, will have appealed to Pindar's aristocratic (in the strict sense) sensibilities. It travels high in the clouds, like his eagles in the passages we have examined, and the comment that it is useless to match oneself with a natural superior (an activity that results in the loss of victory) coheres nicely with the presentation of the superiority of the eagle in *Olympian* 2, and the conception of inherited ancestral excellence.

It seems likely therefore, that Pindar's ambiguous eagle images (and possibly that of Bacchylides too) mark a transformation of the power relationship portrayed in the fable of the hawk and the nightingale. Rather than portray himself as subordinate and potential prey—a category into which Bacchylides will reinsert himself in 468 by referring to himself as the nightingale of Keos at 3.98—Pindar asserts his authority by aligning himself with the predator and the natural superior.[143] Both poet and victorious king or aristocrat soar and defeat their enemies. They do so not just as any predator, but as the bird of Zeus, his messenger, and thus range themselves on the side of justice. Conversely, in Pindar in *Olympian* 2 and Bacchylides 5, the nightingale of Hesiod becomes crows and cowering shrill-voiced birds. Just as the eagle may represent the poet or victor, so these inferior birds are either lesser poets or foul-mouthed slanderers—but no nightingale. This shift in the presentation of the poet-patron dynamic matches the casting of the poet in the role of advisor. Like can best advise like, and poetic royalty has the best chance in understanding and helping Sicilian royalty. Both function under the aegis of Zeus, and both uphold his power by their discursive activity.

The final stop on this avian tour is the famous opening of *Pythian* 1, which marks a notable transformation of the motif. Here, the power of the lyre soothes and charms all who hear it, and:

> εὕδει δ' ἀνὰ σκά-
> πτῳ Διὸς αἰετός, ὠκεῖ-
> αν πτέρυγ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν χαλάξαις,
>
> ἀρχὸς οἰωνῶν, κελαινῶπιν δ' ἐπί οἱ νεφέλαν
> ἀγκύλῳ κρατί, γλεφάρων ἀδὺ κλάι-

[143] Cf. Steiner 2007: 189. Lefkowitz 1969: 54 speaks of Bacchylides in Ode 5 as pouring forth his song like an epic nightingale in the lines immediately preceding the eagle simile.

θρον, κατέχευας· ὁ δὲ κνώσσων
ὑγρὸν νῶτον αἰωρεῖ, τεαῖς
ῥιπαῖσι κατασχόμενος.

. . . on his sceptre
the eagle of Zeus sleeps
and relaxes his swift wings on both sides,

the lord of birds, and over his curved head
you pour a dark cloud, a sweet closure of his eyelids,
and he, slumbering,
ruffles his supple back,
constrained by the force of your music. (*P.* 1.6–10)

Now the mighty eagle is tamed by song. Yet, as we shall see in more detail in Chapter 8, this is possible only because the power of the singer and the power of the king of the gods have been aligned. There is no discrepancy between the goal of music and of Zeus-blessed kings. Thus the opposition between two species of bird disappears and the eagle is held by song (as the hawk once held the nightingale), but the only creature in distress will (in the following lines) be Typhon, the enemy of Zeus, who is terrified by the song of the Muses.

Hieron clearly recognized the prestige and power of musical culture, and in Pindar, a poet whose energetic assertion of his own authority could mirror and support his royal image, he found a good match for his cultural ambitions. Pindar was a central player in a cultural program that was broadly conceived, stretching over several genres and performance locations and building on Syracuse's already lively song culture. Accidents of preservation and canonization have deprived us of the opportunity fully to appreciate the depth and range of this program, but enough indications remain to show how impressive it was, as comedy, tragedy, philosophy and lyric (of several varieties) echoed in the public performance spaces of the city as well as in elite banqueting locations. Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, Aeschylus, Epicharmus and Xenophanes, serially and probably also in combination, lent their talents to this astonishing project; it would be no exaggeration to say that every major contemporary poet played a part. A fortunate combination of wealth from recent victories and a stable polity bequeathed by a powerful brother enabled Hieron to exploit the possibilities inherent in tyrannical power and to create an image of himself that was consistent and effective, even if the reality of his rule

did not live up to the paradigm. At a time when monarchy had, in the person of Xerxes, demonstrated its potential to threaten Greek culture and freedom, Hieron seized the opportunity to sponsor and celebrate its richness and variety by gathering exponents of several genres in his princely domain. The panhellenic aspect of his ambitions should be in no doubt, as his participation in panhellenic contests and his dedications on the mainland show. Yet poetic performance in Syracuse resonated in other parts of the Greek world by reperformance and word of mouth, achieving panhellenic fame by an intensification of an epichoric core. Future chapters will explore the details of Pindar's contributions to this campaign of aggressive self-representation, but enough has now been said to set his songs in their poetic context. Before proceeding to the poems themselves, however, we need to survey one further feature of contemporary culture, broadening the scope of this enquiry to the panhellenic. For Hieron was not the only prominent Greek seeking to build a reputation and market himself successfully in the wake of the Persian Wars.

CHAPTER 4 | Placing Hieron

MY PREVIOUS ANALYSIS HAS attempted to sketch a broad background of the aims and achievements of Pindar's Deinomenid patron in Sicily in order to gain a deeper appreciation of how Pindar's poetry for Hieron plays into (or against) other expressions of Sicilian tyrannical culture. Battles, city foundations, temples, coinage, and dedications have all contributed to a lively picture of dynasts determined to make their mark. We have seen also how the events of the Persian Wars posed a particular challenge for Deinomenid foreign policy and ambitions. Not only did they have to face challenges to their influence from within Sicily and without, but they also had to negotiate the reception of their actions on the Greek mainland. Participation in panhellenic athletic contests was, as we have seen, a long-standing strategy for Sicilian tyrants who wanted to reinforce their prestige at home and abroad. Dedications at the sanctuaries fulfilled a similar purpose. Nothing, however, has so far been said about the other Greek leaders against whom Hieron would have been measured and whose achievements were the talk of the time. To be sure, hippic victories at the games set the Sicilian tyrants and their henchmen into a long and proud tradition of elite competition on the mainland and elsewhere, but, I argue, the Persian Wars had the effect of changing the stakes for which the game was played. Throughout the 470s Athenians and Spartans, Pausanias, Leotychidas, Themistokles, Aristeides, Xanthippos, and others, fought to capitalize on the recent Greek victories, in their own interests and those of the cities they led. These maneuvers were tied to the presentation of personal and civic performance during the wars, and therefore to the politics of memorialization (of which Pindar's poetry is a part). These were years in which, as Kurt Raaflaub has reminded us, the Greek concept of freedom was taking on

shape and content, and that meant freedom from both barbarian domination and the tyrannical rule with which the former was associated. In these circumstances Hieron cannot be content to market himself as an old-style elite tyrant, since tyranny is taking on increasingly negative nuance as a form of slavery and absolute domination. He must instead embody Greek values such as freedom and moderation.

Yet if the culture of the 470s gave rise to a structured opposition between freedom and tyranny, Greek and barbarian, it also provided a venue in which individuals could move between the two poles—an opportunity for some, but for others the occasion for failure. Mainland leaders in the 470s, such as Pausanias and Themistokles, paraded their credentials as leaders and saviors of the Greeks, but they also traveled a downward path that led to envy, accusations of medism, and exile or death. The person of the victor thus became an object of focus and critique. It was readily assimilated to preexistent mythologies, such as the trajectory of success, pride, and downfall, or success, envy, and slander; events can be read in epinician and inverse epinician terms. The world of myth and its paradigms had, moreover, drawn closer because the perceived significance of the Persian conflict enabled poets such as Simonides to draw parallels between the Persian and Trojan Wars. Not only did Hieron have to negotiate the new postwar world and its values; he had to find his way among paradigms of leadership. In this chapter, then, I want to explore certain aspects of the celebration and memorialization of the Persian Wars on the Greek mainland, in particular the conceptualization of leadership and the concomitant tension between the individual and the collective. The cautionary tales of Pausanias and Themistokles, the victors of Plataia and Salamis, form an essential background for understanding what it means to be a great man in the wake of the Persian Wars, while a consideration of Simonides' "Plataia elegy," epigrams memorializing the war, and even the vitriolic poetry of Timocreon of Rhodes make it clear that much energy was expended in assessing the relative contributions of cities and their generals. This material will be particularly pertinent for the later interpretation of *Pythian* 1, but it is also important background against which to read all the Sicilian tyrant odes of the 470s.

Themistokles

Let us begin with Themistokles and the climate of competition for honor after the Persian Wars. We shall find that he provides an excellent paradigm

for the convergence of the models of athletic and military struggle, together with their vocabularies of victory, superlative achievement, jealousy, and slander. These stories are connected in part with the great panhellenic centers, the focus of inter-polis competition and display.

Herodotus is fond of telling us who won the prize of excellence (*aristeia*) in a particular battle. Here is what he has to say about the aftermath of Salamis (8.123–124):

> After the division of the booty, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus in order to give the prize of excellence (ἀριστήια) to the one of the Greeks who was most worthy of it in that war. But when the generals arrived and were dividing their votes at the altar of Poseidon to judge out of all of them the first and the second place, then each of them was casting his vote for himself, since each thought that he himself was the best (ἄριστος), but the majority agreed in judging Themistokles in second place. So they all were left with one vote, but Themistokles outstripped them by far in second place votes. Although they did not wish to make this judgment because of jealousy (φθόνῳ) but each sailed away to his own country without having made the judgment, nevertheless Themistokles was talked about and had the reputation throughout all of Greece of being the wisest man by far. But because he was not honored by those who had fought at Salamis in spite of his victory (νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη), straight after this he went to Sparta, wishing to be honored (θέλων τιμηθῆναι). The Lakedaimonians received him in fine fashion and honored him greatly (μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν). As a prize of excellence (ἀριστήια) they gave to Eurybiades a crown of olive, but to Themistokles too they gave a crown of olive for wisdom and cleverness. They made him a gift of the finest carriage in Sparta, and having given him much praise (αἰνέσαντες) three hundred picked Spartiate warriors escorted him as he left.

This passage reveals the intensely agonistic atmosphere among Greek leaders at the time of the Persian Wars. Doubts have been expressed about the authenticity of the story of Themistokles' second-place finish, on the grounds that Pliny (*Nat. Hist*. 34.19) tells a similar story about the sculptor Polykleitos.[1] The latter, however, presents a highly stripped-down version of the anecdote, while Herodotus' narrative integrates it into a larger context of praise and competition that is, in addition, reinforced by known Spartan honorific practices.

[1] Podlecki 1975: 28.

Let us note, first, what we might call the epinician trajectory of the story. After the victory at Salamis the Greek leaders meet at a panhellenic sanctuary to honor the most worthy. What threatens the legitimate awarding of the prize is that cardinal sin in the world of epinician: jealousy. Each leader wants the prize for himself and deprives the only person who could have been a consensus choice. Themistokles is much talked about and gets the reputation of being the wisest of the Greeks. The situation is, however, anomalous, since Themistokles has (at least in his own mind) "won" but not been honored. His trip to Sparta is undertaken precisely to get his honor, and he is not disappointed. He is given an olive crown, words of praise, a beautiful carriage, and an escort of Spartan knights. Some uncertainty surrounds the precise nature of the prize awarded to Themistokles. Was his award technically an *aristeion*? As Borimir Jordan points out, nowhere else in Herodotus is an *aristeion* awarded unilaterally by one state; nor is there a parallel for an *aristeion* awarded for wisdom. It seems likely that the Spartans honor Themistokles "after their own fashion," while retaining the prize of martial excellence for their own general Eurybiades.[2] The various aspects of the prize—praise, the crown for intellectual expertise, the escort of knights, and the splendid carriage—can all be associated with attested Spartan practice[3] but are, of course, meaningful in the wider Greek arena. The crown of olive was also given to victors at the Olympic Games, while words of praise, triumphal escort, and travel in a splendid carriage or chariot can be attested for the return of athletic victors to their cities.[4] One notes further that the location where Themistokles should have been honored was the Isthmian sanctuary of Poseidon, home of the Isthmian Games. In fact, many reconstructions place Themistokles' pursuit of the *aristeion* at the games themselves, which were celebrated in 480.[5] There is thus an extensive parallel between the structures of athletic and military honors, and the motifs associated with these two fields of endeavor interpenetrate.[6]

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[2] Jordan 1988: 548–551.

[3] Jordan 1988.

[4] Slater 1984: 244–247. Perhaps the best parallel is Exainetos of Akragas, from the end of the fifth century. He was conducted into his city in a chariot and accompanied by three hundred more chariots (Diod. Sic. 13.82.7).

[5] Meiggs 1972: 415 for a survey of the possibilities. Kurke 2002 provides a subtle analysis of how the ancient historical tradition transforms Themistokles' military exploits and pursuit of honor into base economic activity.

[6] See Young 1971: 39–43 for the connection between war and the games, and Kurke 1993 for "the economy of kudos."

Themistokles may also have been celebrated in poetry. Plutarch's evaluation of the Battle of Salamis (*Them*. 15.2) refers to Simonides' treatment of the victory:

> . . . οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐξισούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ κατὰ μέρος προσφερομένους καὶ περιπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις ἐτρέψαντο μέχρι δείλης ἀντισχόντας, ὥσπερ εἴρηκε Σιμωνίδης, τὴν καλὴν ἐκείνην καὶ περιβόητον ἀράμενοι νίκην, ἧς οὔθ' Ἕλλησιν οὔτε βαρβάροις ἐνάλιον ἔργον εἴργασται λαμπρότερον, ἀνδρείᾳ μὲν καὶ προθυμίᾳ κοινῇ τῶν ναυμαχησάντων, γνώμῃ δὲ καὶ δεινότητι τῇ Θεμιστοκλέους.
>
> . . . the rest [of the Greeks] equaling the barbarians in numbers—since those were attacking in detachments and colliding with each other in the strait—put them to flight although they held out until evening, as Simonides says, and won that fair and famous victory than which no more brilliant deed by sea has been done either by Greeks or barbarians, won by the common courage and eagerness of all who fought in the sea battle, and by the judgment and cleverness of Themistokles.

The difficulty here is to discern how much of Plutarch's text is quoting or paraphrasing Simonides. A cautious assessment would be that only the phrase "although they held out until evening" is Simonidean, but it may be that the remainder of the sentence also looks to the poem. Thus Podlecki's maximalist view would include the reference to Themistokles as part of the Simonidean reference.[7] If this is correct (though it cannot be certain), the poem will have echoed the Spartan award to Themistokles and Herodotus' report of his panhellenic reputation as the wisest of the Greeks.[8] Certainly, the clause "no more brilliant deed by sea has been done either by Greeks or barbarians" is reminiscent of praise poetry. This is an instance of the superlative vaunt—the idea that the victory that has been won is the greatest of its kind—and would be at home in the context of a poetic celebration of Salamis. Notably, the same kind of vaunt will be used in *Pythian* 1 (48–49) to memorialize the Deinomenids, who, as we shall see, have won "honor of the kind that none of the Greeks reaps."

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[7] Podlecki 1968: 267 comments that "[no] brighter deed" and even "Themistokles" (in the genitive, as in Plutarch) would fit metrically into a hexameter line. Cf. Podlecki 1975: 50, with the suggestion that Themistokles' ruse at Salamis may have played a part in the poem and that Themistokles commissioned the poem. Molyneux 1992: 188–189 finds the latter part of the sentence "pure prose."

[8] For anecdotal evidence of the friendship of Themistokles and Simonides, see Podlecki 1975: 49.

Themistokles was a major focus of attention at the Olympic Games of 476, the first Olympic Games after the wars. Plutarch tells us that he was the object of all eyes. When he entered the Olympic stadium, everybody looked at him even to the point of ignoring the athletes. They kept on pointing him out and clapping until Themistokles showed his pleasure and remarked to his friends that this was the fruit of his toils on behalf of Greece (*Them.* 17.2). On this occasion, then, Themistokles upstages the athletes and appropriates the status of victor. Successful toil has brought praise—again an epinician trajectory, and in the Olympic arena, no less. Performance in the recent conflict maps onto reception at the games, and not only for Themistokles. Plutarch cites an anecdote originally found in Theophrastus (*Them.* 25.1) that when Hieron sent horses to Olympia, Themistokles tried to block him from competing and urged the crowds to tear down the tent of the tyrant with its costly decorations.[9] Aelian (*VH* 9.5) told a slightly different version of the story in which Themistokles prevented Hieron (who had come to the festival) from competing, saying that those who had not shared in the danger should not participate in the festival, and he was praised for this. The veracity of this anecdote has been suspected.[10] It is not plausible that Hieron was actually prevented from competing (since we know that he competed in every Olympic Games from 476 until 468). A similar story, moreover, is told of the magnificent *theoria* of Dionysios I of Syracuse to Olympia for the games of 388: his pavilion was attacked when Lysias incited the crowd to attack him as an enemy of Greece (Diod. Sic. 14.109). One must indeed exercise caution with such anecdotes, but I do not find it impossible to conceive that Themistokles engaged in this kind of grandstanding. It is clear (see further the section on Timocreon below) that after the war there was considerable hostility toward medizers: after the battle of Salamis a fleet commanded by Themistokles sailed the Aegean to punish medizing cities by extracting money from them (Hdt. 8.111–112). Syracuse had not medized, precisely, but we have seen that Gelon declined to aid the Greeks and was rumored to have sent money to Delphi to give to Xerxes if the invasion should be successful. It seems plausible that the Olympics of 476 would have staged not only Themistokles' recent triumphs but also the construction placed on Sicilian (non)participation in recent events.[11]

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[9] Theophrastus fr. 612 Fortenbaugh et al. 1992–93.

[10] I thank Nino Luraghi for helpful discussion on this point.

[11] Frost 1980: 206 finds it unlikely that a crowd at the Olympics could have been stirred up against Hieron, since his family had also suffered attacks by the barbarians and "were entitled to as much panhellenic esteem as any of the other allies." This analysis reckons without Gelon's refusal of help to the mainland Greeks and his dispatch of money to Delphi. It took some effort to insert the Deinomenids into the circles of panhellenic esteem.

The festival was a prime locale for posturing about contributions to the war effort, and the connection between political and athletic activity would have been manifest. Games and warfare were both contests in which prize winning brought honor and a crown.

Themistokles was soon to learn that a victor's status and popularity was fragile and subject to the whispers of the jealous, the twists of fate, and the fickleness of the multitude—a very epinician lesson. The 470s were not a safe time to be an influential political hero (as the fate of Pausanias, to be considered shortly, also shows). Although Themistokles had some success in the early part of the decade, his influence waned. The Spartans supported his rival Kimon, and at Athens his attempts to draw on the "symbolic capital" of his victories were unsuccessful, even counterproductive. Plutarch narrates that:

> τῶν πολιτῶν διὰ τὸ φθονεῖν ἡδέως τὰς διαβολὰς προσιεμένων ἠναγκάζετο λυπηρὸς εἶναι τῶν αὐτοῦ πράξεων πολλάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μνημονεύων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας "τί κοπιᾶτε," εἶπεν, "ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις εὖ πάσχοντες;"
>
> when because of their jealousy, his fellow citizens gladly welcomed slanders against him he was compelled to become offensive by reminding them of his deeds in front of the *dēmos*. When people complained, he said to them "why are you tired of receiving benefits on many occasions from the same people?" (*Them*. 22.1)

He also seems to have caused offense by building a temple of Artemis "of the best counsel" (*aristoboulē*) because he had given best counsel to the Greeks (*Them*. 22.2; note the recurrence of the superlative vaunt).[12] This downward course culminated in his ostracism from Athens, probably in 471–70.[13] Plutarch interprets the practice in this context as "a soothing and lightening of the jealousy that enjoys humbling the superior" (*Them.* 22.3). After spending time agitating in Argos, he was implicated by the Spartans in the medism of Pausanias and condemned at Athens (Thuc. 1.135; Plut. *Them*. 23). After various travels in Greece and the Aegean, he reached the court of Artaxerxes at Susa sometime after 465.

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[12] Plutarch reports that a heroic portrait statue stood in the temple (*Them*. 22.2); Podlecki 1975: 144 suggests it was commissioned by Themistokles himself.

[13] Meiggs 1972: 454–455; Podlecki 1975: 198–199. Frost 1980: 186–191, however, dates the condemnation to 471. See also Gastaldi 1986: 139–142.

The chronology of these travels is notoriously problematic, but several aspects of the story are significant for present purposes and are unaffected by the date of Themistokles' final condemnation and flight. We note, first, that Themistokles has an epinician and then an inverse-epinician trajectory that should be very familiar to readers of Pindar. We are presented with victory threatened by jealousy but winning its due meed of praise. Then the continued attacks of the jealous, which threaten the meritorious; the continued reminders of deeds of merit that cause what Pindar calls *koros*, satiety; and then the slanders that result in *atimia*, dishonor. The question is, has this pattern been imposed on the material by Plutarch and others, or can it tell us something about the nature of leadership in the wake of the Persian Wars? Analysis of Plutarch's *Themistokles* notes the centrality of the theme of ambition, *philotimia* (and the consequent jealousy, *phthonos*), to the *Life*.[14] There is no need, however, to see the central roles played by ambition and jealousy as an imposition. These are central to politics, and the celebration (through monuments and poetry) of Greek victory at panhellenic sanctuaries and festivals rendered the vision of a politician's life as a contest for glory easy. The paradigm of toil, victory, jealousy, and slander lay close at hand—it would have been remarkable had the life of Themistokles *not* been read this way in the 470s by his supporters. For rivals and detractors, the same materials would have supported the notion of a trickster figure who came to no good end, led on by his own hubris, greed, and corruption. One of the many preserved *ostraka* marked with the name of Themistokles specifies that he is named "on account of his honor" (*timēs heneka*), good contemporary evidence for the fraught nature of his prestige.[15] What we see in Plutarch's *Life* is a concern to establish a final rehabilitation and fulfillment of Themistokles' ambition by the honors he gets in Persia.[16] This is one transformation that is probably alien to the early-fifth-century reading; a happy ending as a Persian satrap sits ill in the profile of a warrior for Greek freedom at Salamis.

The second important aspect of the Themistokles narrative is the connection drawn between Themistokles and the Spartan regent Pausanias, and the accusations of medism associated with Themistokles'

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[14] Podlecki 1975: 135–139; Stadter 1984: 358.

[15] Brenne 2001: 297–300; Forsdyke 2005: 155.

[16] Stadter 1984: 358–359. Podlecki 1975: 138, however, suggests a poignancy and emptiness to these late honors. On the revenues granted to Themistokles by the Persian king, see Briant 1985: 58–60.

condemnation at Athens. Thucydides reports that when the Spartans were investigating the medism of Pausanias (1.135.2) they found material implicating Themistokles in the same crime and demanded that the Athenians punish him.[17] Scholars have differed on whether Themistokles actually was plotting with the Persians, but the irony that the architect of Persian defeat at Salamis ended life as a medizer is often noted.[18] Medism was not an uncommon accusation at the time (see below on Timocreon of Rhodes); it was, unsurprisingly, an effective method of discrediting a political opponent. What is particularly interesting is the form that this accusation takes in the cases of Pausanias and Themistokles. In both instances it marks the downfall of men who had been instrumental in defeating the Mede. In the case of Pausanias, as we shall see shortly, the accused had even been reported to have mocked Persian luxury. Both men had been intensely praised and celebrated, and their problem was that the years after the wars failed to continue this celebration. In their different ways, both could be accused of arrogance and hubris, and this expresses itself in medism. This is not just political slander but a quasi-mythical pattern, and one that is relevant for our consideration of Hieron of Syracuse, who will, in *Pythian* 1, have his status negotiated against such a model of civic arrogance and medism.

It is, therefore, probably no accident that the flight of Themistokles to Persia features a potential Sicilian interlude. Plutarch (*Them*. 24.4) reports and rejects the fifth-century narrative of Stesimbrotus that had Themistokles "sail to Sicily and ask the tyrant Hieron for the hand of his daughter in marriage, promising to make the Greeks subject to him. When Hieron rejected him, he set sail for Asia." It has been suggested that this anecdote is an indication of Athenian ambitions in the Greek west early in the fifth century (ambitions that would eventually give rise to the Sicilian expedition). Themistokles' westward flight would then reflect long-standing communication between him and Hieron (this would of course entail that the anecdote of Themistokles' hostility toward Hieron at Olympia in 476 is a fabrication).[19] Even if we dismiss this possibility and insist that the anecdote is not historical, it is interesting that Hieron figures as a kind of

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[17] In Plutarch's account (*Them*. 23) Pausanias solicits Themistokles' help in his treasonable schemes. Themistokles will have none of them, but he does not inform on Pausanias because he thinks the latter will give up.

[18] Guilt: Robertson 1980: 72–78; innocence: Cawkwell 1970: 42–45; irony: McMullin 2001: 62.

[19] I would like to thank a reader for the press for emphasizing the importance of possible Athenian imperial ambitions in this connection. Gomme 1956: 400 n. 1 speculates that Themistokles may have been on his way to Sicily in 467/6 when he heard of Hieron's death and turned round.

substitute Great King, to whom Themistokles can betray the Greeks and with whom he can attempt to contract a dynastic matrimonial alliance. This anecdote is a doublet of the one where Pausanias makes a similar offer to the Persian king, proposing marriage to his daughter and the subjection of the Greeks to the Persians (Thuc. 1.128.7). Themistokles' movements and motives are unrecoverable, but it is significant that fifth-century gossip constructed Hieron as a western counterpart to the Great King, the kind of person to whom a medizer might flee. Tyrants and dynasts, both actual and potential, fall into a complex web of anecdote whose collocations reveal much about contemporary conceptions of ambition, victory, and betrayal.

Pausanias

If there was any Greek in the 470s who might have been said to have achieved the kind of honor no other Greek had reaped, it was Pausanias, regent of Sparta and commander in chief of the Greek forces at the Battle of Plataia in 479. Our earliest information about him, the narrative of Herodotus, shows already the bifurcation of tradition that makes evaluating him so difficult.[20] Future generations would embellish the anecdotal tradition into a paradigm of corrupted glory and configure him as the blind ruler incapable of heeding the warnings of the poet/sage Simonides. Stories of his superlative achievement, his quasi-tyrannical arrogance and medism, his conspicuous dedications, and his association with Simonides make him a particularly good foil against which to consider the problem of Hieron's self-presentation in the late 470s. Pausanias' actual guilt or innocence, or indeed, the motivation behind his actions in Byzantion and the Troad, is largely irrelevant to the present discussion. The story of Pausanias' medizing as we have it is probably an amalgam of material from several sources, each with its own interest. It may be that Pausanias was acting secretly for the Spartan state, or that he was pursuing a "bold,

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Gastaldi 1986: 146–148, extrapolating from Stesimbrotus and a pseudepistle of Themistokles, puts Themistokles in Corcyra at the time of Hieron's death; this news then caused him to sail for Epirus (see 142–153 for larger speculations about Themistokles' western connections and ambitions, which, he suggests, may have centered on Sybaris). Kowalzig 2007: 320–321 also reconstructs early Athenian interest in the west (Sybaris in particular) and concludes that several elements in the *Life of Themistokles* confirm his ambitions here. Bonanno too (2010: 95–101) is convinced of mutual interests on the part of Hieron and Themistokles in the area surrounding Sybaris. She conjectures that the tradition represented by Stesimbrotus, where Hieron rejects Themistokles' offer, may have arisen from Deinomenid propaganda that represented Hieron as refusing to have dealings with a traitor to the Greek cause.

[20] Fornara 1966: 263 n. 30; Nafissi 2004.

far sighted but ill-timed project."[21] The one act of which we can be relatively sure is the boastful inscription of a couplet on the serpent monument at Delphi. Although this fits perfectly into the struggle for renown after the wars, it has no implications for medism and desire for tyranny. What is important is representation, and there is little doubt that rumors about Pausanias' ambitions circulated throughout the 470s and that by the end of the decade he could be argued, rightly or wrongly, to have been corrupted by ambition and forgotten the fundamental epinician precept that the victor must remember his mortal limits.

We may start with the hero. When Herodotus (9.64) evaluates the victory at Plataia, he says that "Pausanias the son of Kleombrotos the son of Anaxandrides won the fairest victory of all those we know."[22] This judgment is echoed by the Aiginetan Lampon at 9.78: "Son of Kleombrotos, you have performed a deed extraordinary for its size and beauty, and god has allowed you to save Greece and lay down the greatest glory of any Greek we know." The context here is significant, since Lampon is about to suggest that Pausanias mutilate the body of the Persian commander in vengeance for the death of Leonidas at Thermopylai. The Aiginetan presents this revenge as "what remains" and argues that by so doing Pausanias will gain an even greater reputation and praise both from the Spartans and the rest of the Greeks. In both Herodotus passages, we note the presence of the superlative vaunt, and the location of Pausanias' actions in a climate of praise and exemplary action. Pausanias then displays his piety in refusing such barbaric acts of revenge. A similar rejection of Persian custom is featured at 9.82, where Pausanias inspects the luxurious tent of Mardonios and causes two meals to be prepared: a Persian banquet and a modest Spartan supper. He then invites the other Greek commanders and comments on the foolishness of the Persians, who had come to Greece to rob them of their poverty. In this tradition, then, Pausanias stages himself as the pious and moderate victor.

Yet Pausanias was also constructed as the opposing paradigm: the victorious Greek who was corrupted by power and was transformed into the rejected Persian other. There are traces of this even in Herodotus (5.32), where we are told that Pausanias, when he conceived a "lust to be the tyrant of Hellas," betrothed himself to the daughter of Megabates, a

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[21] Doubts about Thucydides' account: Fornara 1966: 261–267; acting for the Spartan state but then disowned: Lang 1967: 83; far-sighted project for Spartan hegemony in the Aegean based on Persian support: Giorgini 2004 (quote at 185).

[22] νίκην ἀναιρέεται καλλίστην ἁπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Παυσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω.

member of the Persian royal house. Herodotus is unsure of the truth of the story, but it is clear that stories of Pausanias' medism and tyrannical aspirations were circulating.[23] This process must have begun in the early 470s, since it fits well in the context of Pausanias' first recall to Sparta in 477 or 476. Thucydides is our most complete source for this tradition. Once the Greeks had beaten the Persians on the mainland, they pursued them across the Aegean, with Pausanias still in charge (1.94). He is, however, now hated because he is violent (*biaios*). The Spartans become alarmed and recall him to stand trial, having heard that his actions are more a "mimesis of tyranny" than a generalship (1.95).[24] Medism is one of the main charges against him, and one that, remarks Thucydides, seemed to be very clear (1.95). Pausanias is, however, acquitted on the main charges. The result is that the Spartans leave the prosecution of the naval war in the Aegean to the Athenians—the start of the Delian league. We next hear of Pausanias in a digression later in Book 1. After his acquittal, Pausanias traveled to the Hellespont, where, we are told, his aim was to negotiate with the Persian king and so gain the rule of Greece (1.128.3–4). In Thucydides' version, he had already contacted Xerxes during his first stay in Byzantion and asked to marry his daughter. Significantly, it is the reputation and glory that he received as the commander at Plataia that make him unable to live in his established lifestyle. He is proud:

> he used to go out of Byzantion in Median clothing, and had Median and Egyptian bodyguards as he travelled through Thrace. He had a Persian table set before him and was not able to restrain his intentions; rather, with small matters he was making it clear what he was intending afterwards to accomplish more greatly. He also made himself difficult to approach, and displayed so severe a temper to every one alike that no one could come near him.
>
> (1.130.1–2)[25]

Further treasonous intrigues with the Persians cause a second recall to Sparta, where he dies in disgrace, after having given rise to the curse of the brazen house (Thuc. 1.131–134). The precise dating of this second recall

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[23] See Nafissi 2004: 153–158 for a recent discussion of Herodotus' treatment of the traditions about Pausanias and the relationship between Herodotus' and Thucydides' accounts.

[24] Cf. Plut. *Cimon* 6.2 "committing many outrageous acts through his power and senseless self-importance."

[25] Nafissi 2004: 155 (building on the work of Fornara 1971: 62–66) suggests that we are meant to read the "Persian table" in Thucydides against Herodotus' narrative of the contrasting banquets in Mardonios' tent.

and the date of Pausanias' death are subjects of lively debate. Pausanias may not have been expelled from Byzantion until 471–70; this would place his death in the early 460s. Dating Pausanias' death in the late 470s would be convenient for my current argument, since his quasi-tragic trajectory would be complete by 470, but even with the later dating rumors of the medism and tyrannical aspirations that caused the recall will have been well developed by 470.[26]

Stories concerning Pausanias, then, seem to have assimilated his behavior to models of eastern tyranny. A violent and difficult temper, extravagance, pride and hubris, wearing Persian dress, aspirations to dynastic marriage—all are tyrannical characteristics, and in the case of Pausanias, all are rooted in victory over the barbarian foe. It will not surprise, then, that even the pious act of dedicating spoils to the gods is liable in his case to become an expression of hubris. Pausanias was famed for two dedications. Herodotus 4.81.3 tells us in passing that he dedicated a large bowl at the entrance to the Black Sea. A slightly fuller version is preserved in Athenaeus (12.536a–b), quoting Nymphis. Here, Pausanias merely inscribed his own name on a preexisting offering in this epigram:

> μνᾶμ' ἀρετᾶς ἀνέθηκε Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι
> Παυσανίας, ἄρχων Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου,
> πόντου ἐπ' Εὐξείνου, Λακεδαιμόνιος γένος, υἱὸς
> Κλεομβρότου, ἀρχαίας Ἡρακλέος γενεᾶς.
>
> Pausanias, ruler of Greece with its wide spaces
> dedicated to Lord Poseidon a memorial of his excellence
> at the Euxine sea—a Lakedaimonian by race, son
> of Kleombrotos, from the ancient lineage of Herakles.

We need not follow Nymphis in his belief that this was a hijacked dedication, but the epigram is remarkable for its rhetoric. Pausanias here is the ruler of Greece, memorializing himself at a significant geographic boundary. Page well notes the "vainglorious exaggeration" of the claim to be *archōn*, and the boastfulness of the description of his lineage and the phrase "memorial of his excellence."[27] Ostentatious dedication was, moreover, a tyrannical characteristic.

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[26] Meiggs 1972: 465–468; Gastaldi 1986: 137–139.
[27] *FGE* "Simonides" XXXIX.

Pausanias' other intervention in the politics of dedication is of particular interest since it concerns Greek dedication and the problem of self-advertisement at Delphi after the Persian Wars. Thucydides (1.132.2–3) tells us that when the Spartans were investigating Pausanias at the end of the 470s, they remembered "that he thought it right to have inscribed on his own account on the tripod at Delphi, which the Greeks dedicated as the first fruits of the spoil of their victory over the Medes, this couplet: 'Pausanias, the leader of the Greeks dedicated this monument to Phoibos after he destroyed the host of the Medes' " (Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων / Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε). The Spartans had erased the couplet immediately and inscribed the names of the cities that had joined in overthrowing the barbarian.[28] In retrospect, this action seemed to be a precursor of his later outrageous behavior. It was, indeed, a startling intervention that aimed to appropriate panhellenic achievement for personal heroic aggrandizement, and we shall see that Simonides' Plataia elegy configured the balance of personal versus panhellenic heroics far more acceptably.[29] Yet when we read Pausanias' actions in terms of the contest for personal fame that characterized the 470s, it becomes more comprehensible. Gelon's tripod for his victory at Himera may already have been standing a few meters to the north of the Plataia monument (see Chapter 2), and Themistokles was in pursuit of glory at the Isthmus and elsewhere. What recognition would there be for the man who had achieved "the fairest victory of all those we know"?[30] Paradoxically, the very effort to claim preeminence in the campaigns against the Mede could lead to conduct that rendered problematic the memory of that superiority and could readily be interpreted as a prelude to, or even an expression of, medism and hubris.

The same trajectory of arrogance and ambition is reflected in an anecdote that joins Pausanias and Simonides. By the time of the Platonic *Second Epistle* (311a), Simonides had been cast as sage and wise advisor

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[28] The account of this incident in [Dem.] *in Neaer*. 97–98 shifts the impetus for changing the inscription to the allies, who are said to have prosecuted the Lakedaimonians in front of the Delphic amphictyons.

[29] Page 1981: 254 comments that the epigram on the bronze bowl is in fact "the more offensive of the two. There is a difference between the phrases 'commander in chief of the Hellenes' in XVII and 'commanding Hellas' in XXXIX; the former is a precise description of fact, the latter a vainglorious exaggeration."

[30] It is possible that Pausanias, like Hieron and Gelon, configured himself as a foundation hero, refounding Byzantion after he had recaptured it from the Persians (Fornara 1966: 267–268). The source (Trogus in Justin 9.1.3) is, however, late and its meaning contested.

to both Pausanias and Themistokles. In Aelian's *Varia Historia* 9.41 (and also in [Plutarch] *Cons. ad Apoll.* 105a) we are presented with Simonides and Pausanias at a dinner party. Pausanias asks Simonides to say something wise. Simonides laughs and says "Remember that you are a man." Pausanias neglects this advice because he is already puffed up by his desire for medism and proud of his friendship with the Persian king, but he remembers Simonides' words later when he is dying of hunger in the Brazen House. This story has clearly been modeled on the interaction of Solon and Kroisos in Herodotus—both rulers call on a sage when their arrogance has led to their downfall—and the detail that Pausanias was proud of his friendship with the Persian king seems to conflate several chronological layers in the story. Yet the association of Pausanias with Simonides may have an historical basis, given Simonides' treatment of Pausanias in the Plataia elegy. If so, the combination of ambition in search of poetic (and other) commemoration stands as a strong parallel to the situation in Sicily, where not just one but several poets were involved.

The Plataia Elegy

The discovery of new fragments of Simonides' elegiac poem on the Battle of Plataia has contributed greatly to our understanding of poetic commemorations of the Persian Wars. Various testimonia had stated that Simonides wrote poems on the Battles of Artemision and Salamis, whether in lyric or elegiacs, but the publication of *POxy.* 3965 (and its connection with *POxy.* 2327) presented evidence for a previously unattested poem on Plataia.[31] The interpretation of the fragments is still a matter of disagreement, but two aspects of the poem are immediately relevant: the parallelism that the poet constructs between the Trojan War and the Persian Wars, and the singling out of Pausanias as leader of the Spartan troops.

The poem as reconstructed by Martin West opens with a hymn to Achilles and is followed by a narrative of a march from Sparta to the Isthmus and then on into Attica. The address to Achilles seems to tell of his death, then we learn that "the valiant Danaans, best of warriors, sacked the much-sung-of city and came home; and they are bathed in fame that

[31]Boedeker and Sider 2001: 3–4; Rutherford 2001: 33–40. Kowerski 2005 urges caution and doubts the existence of an independent Plataia poem, suggesting instead that all the new fragments "should be approached initially as if they belong to an as yet undetermined poem" (148). This is indeed possible, but the balance of probabilities still seems to me to suggest a poem on Plataia.

cannot die, by grace of one who from the dark-tressed Muses had the truth entire, and made the heroes' short-lived race a theme familiar to younger men" (fr. 11.13–18 West²).[32] The transition to the narrative is effected by an invocation to the Muse. She is asked by the poet to aid him, so that people will "remember those who held the line for Sparta and for Greece, that none should see the day of slavery" (fr. 11.25–26 West²). The Spartans march, "led forth by great Cleombrotus' most noble son . . . Pausanias" (fr. 11.33–34 West²). Even given the fragmentary nature of the text, it is safe to conclude that Simonides compares the Greeks who fought at Troy with those who fought at Plataia. There is also, as Dirk Obbink observes, an analogy between

1. What the Greeks of epic did in rites of burial and funeral cult for Achilles;
2. What Homer did in his divinely inspired poems for the heroes of the *Iliad*; and
3. What Simonides himself does in the present elegy of the near-contemporary subjects of the section which follows.[33]

Simonides either conceived or participated in the notion that the battles of the Persian wars were a contemporary reprise of the Trojan War; it is particularly noticeable that the elegy foregrounds the role of the poet in the creation of this analogy. Pindar's comparison of Hieron to Philoktetes in *Pythian* 1 takes on added resonance in this light. What Simonides did for Pausanias, the Spartans, and the Greeks, Pindar will do for Hieron.

One question that arises is the extent to which Simonides' elegy focuses its memorializing intentions on Pausanias, Sparta, or the united Greeks. This problem is linked to the issue of the occasion of the first performance. Although the majority of commentators opt for performance at the dedication of the altar of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataia and/or the Eleutheria festival, other options include a festival of commemoration at Sparta, a celebration at the Isthmus, or the dedication of the serpent column at Delphi.[34] Since various polis contingents were celebrated in the poem, it is likely that some

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[32] Translations of Simonides fr. 11 are those of West in Boedeker and Sider 2001: 28–29.

[33] Obbink 2001: 72; cf. Pavese 1995: 20–21, Boedeker 2001a: 153–155. Boedeker 2001b: 124–126 notes that Herodotus' narrator and characters also assume "a close relationship between the events of 480–479 B.C.E. and the epic past" and that the parallel is also present in the Eion poem attributed to Simonides (*FGE* XL(a)) as well as in public monuments.

[34] *Eleutheria*: Burzacchini 1995: 26, Aloni 2001: 101, Boedeker 2001b: 133 (cf. 2001a); Isthmus: Shaw 2001: 179. Delphi: Rutherford 2001: 41. For a concise review of the possibilities, see Rutherford 2001: 40–41.

panhellenic event was the occasion, but who was the focus of praise? Some scholars believe that Achilles stands as a paradigm for all who lost their lives in the battle; the ideological thrust of the elegy would thus be panhellenic.[35] Another view is that the poem is biased in favor of the Spartans and is, in particular, intended to magnify the achievement of Pausanias (who in some readings is proposed as the commissioner of the poem).[36] The diversity of scholarly opinion here is difficult to navigate because the issues at stake, whether the victory should be associated with one elite leader or with the collective Greeks, are precisely those that were at stake in the praise politics of the early 470s.[37] Indeed, they mirror the contention that surrounded the dedication of the serpent column at Delphi: Who won, Pausanias or the Greeks? The fragments of the elegy we possess do a good job in supporting the claims of both; we might expect no less from a poet of Simonides' subtlety (contrasting Pausanias' own megalomaniac lack of diplomacy). The route to panhellenic success was through integration into panhellenic effort. Indeed, the move to integration may be seen also in Plutarch's account of the Battle of Salamis—an account that may echo Simonides' Salamis poem—won by the courage of all but by the judgment of Themistokles (*Them.* 15.2),[38] and also in the lyric written by Simonides for the dead at Thermopylai (*PMG* 531), a poem that proclaims the heroism of the dead but ends with the eternal renown of the dead Leonidas, cited as a witness. Celebration of collective activity and heroism is not, then, incompatible with the singling out of individual glory.[39] We cannot be sure whether Pausanias commissioned the Plataia elegy, but it remains significant that, as Shaw reminds us, the "entire host is led by the only named historical figure, Pausanias, the son of Kleombrotos."[40] The

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[35] Aloni 2001: 98; Boedeker 2001a: 158; Kowerski 2005: 75–94, 102–107.

[36] Aloni 2001: 103–104, Burzacchini 1995: 25–26; Schachter 1998 (arguing for performance at Sigeion and the tomb of Achilles); Shaw 2001: 178–181.

[37] One wonders whether it is significant that, as Pritchett 1974: 283 n. 26 points out, the collective *aristeion* is found only in connection with the Persian Wars.

[38] One may also note the famous anecdote (Hdt. 8.125) of Themistokles and Timodemos of Aphidnai, who, when Themistokles returned from his victory tour of Sparta, complained in his envy that Themistokles was honored by them not for his own sake but because of Athens. Themistokles replied that he would never have received the honors had his origins been obscure, but neither would Timodemos, Athenian though he was. The tension between honoring the city and an individual is foregrounded: was Themistokles stealing Athens' praise? Themistokles' answer is a model of subtlety. For other versions of the anecdote, see Frost 1980: 8, 171.

[39] Sharing out the glory was, of course, influenced by local constraints, and Athens was particularly difficult—witness the constraints placed on the construction of the memorial for the capture of Eion from the Persians (*FGE* "Simonides" XL). The *dēmos* allowed the victorious generals to erect three herms, but not to inscribe their own names on them (Aesch. 3.183). Cf. Hornblower 2001: 138.

[40] Shaw 2001: 173.

victory enabled Pausanias to claim preeminence and expand his ambitions, and this is reflected in the poem.[41] Line 33 of Fr. 11 West^2 labels Pausanias "best" (*aristos*); Pausanias may not have won an individual prize of excellence (*aristeion*) after the battle, but Simonides memorializes his contribution in a way that leaves no doubt he is a winner in the praise stakes.[42]

Epigrams and Panhellenism

Monuments and epigrams associated with the Persian Wars are further invaluable aids for illuminating the atmosphere of mingled pride and ambition in the 470s and early 460s. Although many epigrams celebrate the common achievements of the Greeks, we can see also the potential for individual claims. As the example of Pausanias has shown, appreciation and assessment of the role of individual commanders (as also of poleis) was an issue from the very beginnings of commemorative celebration. The altar that was dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios at Plataia in 479 had an epigram that claimed the Greeks, "having driven out the Persians, founded the common altar of Zeus Eleutherios for a free Greece."[43] The stress on communal action here is strong; the altar is "common" and the Greeks as a whole make the dedication. Similarly, if we are to believe Diodorus (11.33.2), the serpent column at Delphi had an epigram declaring that "The saviors of Greece with its wide spaces dedicated this, having saved the cities from hateful slavery."[44] There is no trace of this epigram on the monument as it is currently preserved, but if the epigram is genuine, it certainly marks a commitment to the recognition of communal activity and a strong contrast to the epigram of Pausanias that was erased. Whereas Pausanias' epigram conceived the victory in terms of destroying the host of the Medes, Diodorus' couplet deploys the rhetoric of salvation from slavery—an interesting choice given the controversy surrounding the Spartan commander.[45]

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[41] Aloni 2001: 100.

[42] Diodorus 11.33.1 says that after the battle the Greeks adjudged Sparta the best city and Pausanias the best individual in awarding of *aristeia.* Herodotus (9.71.2) says that honors were shared by Posidonios, Philokyon, and Amompharetos—information that is earlier and more detailed and therefore to be preferred.

[43] Plut. *Arist.* 19.7 = *FGE* "Simonides" XV. On the history of the cult at Plataia, see Raaflaub 2004: 102–104; Jung 2006: 265–271.

[44] Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου σωτῆρες τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν / δουλοσύνας στυγερᾶς ῥυσάμενοι πόλιας (*FGE* "Simonides" XVIIb).

[45] Raaflaub 2004: 63–64 points out that the motif of deliverance from servitude was, in the immediate aftermath of the war, merely one way among many of approaching recent events.

Panhellenic monuments, then, focus on panhellenic activity. Monuments associated with individual poleis also stress common benefit for Greece. Thus an epitaph that may be for the Athenians who died at Plataia claims "we lie enjoying ageless renown because we were eager to clothe Greece in freedom."[46] Also Athenian was a monument of four (or more) blocks, preserved in fragments, with multiple epigrams. This was a memorial complete with casualty lists. Its restoration is controversial. Many have wanted to see it as a memorial for the Athenian dead of the Persian Wars, commemorating the fallen at Marathon and Salamis, although Angelos Matthaiou maintains that the monument was for Marathon alone. The earliest epigram (*IG* I^3 503/4 lapis A.1) seems to speak of the imperishable excellence of the men who saved Greece from slavery. If the restoration of the third line of the epigram proposed by Hiller von Gaertringen and Benjamin Meritt, and adopted by John Barron and others, is correct, then there would be clear reference to the battle of Salamis:

ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ἀρετε[. . . . .9 . . . . ος ἄφθιτον] αἰεί·
. [. . . . 8 . . . .]ν[.]ρ[. . . . .9 . . . . νέμοσι θεοί·]
ἔσχον γὰρ πεζοί τε [καὶ ὀκυπόρον ἐπὶ νεῶ]ν·
ηελλά[δα μ]ὲ πᾶσαν δούλιο[ν ἦμαρ ἰδεῖν·].

. . . excellence of these men . . . [imperishable] forever
. . . [the gods dispense]
for on foot and [on swift-moving ships] they prevented
all Greece [from seeing the day of] slavery.[47]

I shall return to this epigram below, but on any restoration the Athenians claim that their actions saved all Greece.[48] A memorial for the Megarians who died in the Persian Wars opens with the statement that the dead desired "to increase the day of freedom for Greece and the Megarians,"[49] while the famous epitaph for the Corinthians who died at Salamis boasts "We saved sacred Greece, having destroyed Phoenician ships and Persians and Medes."[50] All these epigrams parade the contributions of the glorious dead in saving Greece, preserving freedom, and protecting against slavery.[51] Do we

[46] *A.P.* 7.253 = *FGE* "Simonides" VIII.
[47] M–L 26; *FGE* "Simonides" XXa. See Barron 1990 for the connection with Salamis. Matthaiou 2000–2003 contests the restoration of "swift-moving ships," which was based on the assumption that Agora I 4256 is a fourth-century B.C. copy of this epigram. Jung 2006: 84–96 reconsiders the problem and concludes that the monument indeed commemorates Salamis.
[48] See West 1970 for further examination of claims to save Greece in connection with this monument.
[49] *IG* VII 53 = *FGE* "Simonides" XVI.
[50] Plut. *malig. Herodot.* 39, 870e = *FGE* "Simonides" XI.
[51] For the Persian Wars as "Freedom Wars" and the vocabulary of freedom and slavery in the decade from 480 to 470, see the valuable survey of Raaflaub 2004: 59–65.

have, then, incontrovertible evidence for a culture of panhellenic harmony in the years immediately after the wars, evidence that would militate against an interpretation of these years that focused on competition for glory and commemoration? Such is the argument of Lawrence Kowerski, who focuses on a panhellenic vision of collective effort and victory, where panhellenism is defined as "a notion of community among Greek cities derived from a shared sense of Hellenic identity."[52] Even if some epigrams "would have been linked to a specific city, the overall emphasis in these verses is the benefit for all . . . rather than the freedom of any particular city achieved by its own fighters."[53] The epigrams sketched above do conform to Kowerski's definition of panhellenism, but I wonder whether such a definition may be too blunt an instrument to account for the complexities of contemporary rhetoric. Does a focus on common benefit for Greece compel the reconstruction of a culture of harmony? I think not. If monuments at Athens, Megara, and Salamis for the Athenians, Megarians, and Corinthians (I do not speak here of panhellenic monuments such as the Plataia altar or the serpent column—although we have seen that even such monuments could be hijacked for competitive goals) declare that they secured freedom for Greece, or saved Greece, or prevented slavery, this need not represent a subordination of individual efforts to a collective goal. Why could these epigrams not represent claims to preeminence: "We Megarians/Athenians/Corinthians saved Greece"?[54] Kowerski is uncomfortable with Aloni's suggestion that "Immediately after the battle [of Plataia], each of the allies—and above all, men such as Pausanias, Themistocles, and Aristides, who had played a leading part in events—tried to use the victory (and the unity that had made it possible) for his own ends."[55] He argues that such a reading makes the epigrams surveyed here anomalies. This is not, however, a necessary conclusion. There is plenty of room for claims of individual or polis preeminence in a common cause. Panhellenism is not an absolute, but a rhetoric that could be used in multiple interests.

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[52] Kowerski 2005: 75.

[53] Kowerski 2005: 78–79.

[54] Compare too the rhetoric of the Athenian epigram on the Battle of Artemision (*FGE* "Simonides" XXIV). This claims that the Athenians overcame many races from Asia in a sea battle. Page (1981: 236–237) comments: "the Athenians greatly distinguished themselves . . . but it is remarkable that they should have claimed all the credit, to the exclusion of nine allied states, in a public inscription in a Euboean temple." Cf. also the epigrams associated with the Eion herms in the Athenian agora (*FGE* "Simonides" XL), a battle at which, we learn, the Athenians "first" reduced the Medes to helplessness.

[55] Aloni 2001: 100; Kowerski 2005: 75, 79. Cf. Raaflaub 2004: 60 on traditions of great deeds in the service of Greece: "other [than Athens] poleis, too, claimed special credit for the preservation of Greek liberty." Raaflaub sees these traditions as early examples of a rhetoric that would later become more common.

We can see this dynamic operating at the individual level in the epitaph for Adeimantos, who commanded the Corinthians at the Battle of Salamis.[56]

οὗτος Ἀδειμάντου κείνου τάφος, ὃν δία πᾶσα
Ἑλλὰς ἐλευθερίας ἀμφέθετο στέφανον.

This is the tomb of that Adeimantos, through whom all
Greece put on the crown of freedom.

The epitaph may date to the late 470s, and Plutarch, who preserves the epitaph, tells us further (*malig. Herodot.* 871a) that Adeimantos named four children in celebration of his achievement: Nausinike ("Victory with ships"), Akrothinion ("First-fruits offering"), Alexibia ("she who wards off force"), and Aristeus ("Excels in Valor").[57] The wording of the epitaph uses the rhetoric of freedom in the service of individual renown, and the phrase "that Adeimantos" implies that the honorand is widely known. Adeimantos may have been locked into a contest over his (and his city's) reputation. Herodotus (8.94) reports the Athenian claim that both Adeimantos and the Corinthians had deserted the scene at the beginning of the battle of Salamis and did not return until victory was assured, but also that the Corinthians and the rest of the Greeks denied this. We do not know how far back the Athenian tradition of Corinthian nonparticipation goes, but if it is early, this is another example of move and countermove in the battle for praise, where heroic action is set against cowardice and desertion. Narrative and counternarrative circulate in a manner reminiscent of the traditions surrounding the Greek embassy to Gelon and his dispatch of money to Delphi (see Chapter 2). Even if this aspect is absent, we are still left with a memorial in which the panhellenic rhetoric of freedom is perfectly compatible with, and indeed serves to buttress, individual praise.

One further epigram is relevant to the rhetoric of individual achievement during the Persian Wars. This is the poem written for Demokritos the Naxian, who, we learn from Herodotus (8.46), was responsible for persuading four Naxian ships to go over to the Greek navy. The poem is again preserved in Plutarch (*malig. Herodot.* 39, 869c = *FGE* "Simonides" XIX(a)):

Δημόκριτος τρίτος ἦρξε μάχης, ὅτε πὰρ Σαλαμῖνα
Ἕλληνες Μήδοις σύμβαλον ἐν πελάγει·

[56] Cited by Plutarch as evidence for Corinthian participation in the battle and Herodotean malignancy (*malig. Herodot.* 39, 870f) = *FGE* "Simonides" X.
[57] Page 1981: 201 n. 5; Raaflaub 2004: 63.

πέντε δὲ νῆας ἕλεν δηίων, ἕκτην δ' ὑπὸ χεῖρα
ῥύσατο βαρβαρικὴν Δωρίδ' ἁλισκομένην.

Demokritos, along with two others, was the leader in the battle
when the Greeks clashed with the Medes in the sea at Salamis.
He took five ships of the enemy, and saved a sixth one,
a Dorian one, when it was being captured by a barbarian hand.

The claims of this epigram are fairly modest when compared with the rhetoric of those previously surveyed here. There is no preservation of freedom or salvation of Greece, merely outstanding performance in battle. We seem to have a claim to *aristeia,* although the matter is complicated by uncertainty about the completeness of the epigram. It is, as many have noted, an unusual epigram in that it is difficult to tell whether it is meant to be votive, funerary, or commemorative. Page suggests that it may be a *skolion*, intended for recitation at a symposium.[58] If this is so, it is another indication of a culture of intense competition for prestige, not only in monuments, epigrams, and narrative elegy (if this is what Simonides' Plataia elegy is) but in the world of the symposium as well. The "anti-epinician" of Timocreon of Rhodes belongs, as we shall soon see, to the same context.

Rather than reconstruct a lost decade of panhellenic harmony and read indications of competition as back projections from a time of greater tension and ambiguity, we should see the 470s as marked by intense maneuvering as individuals and cities struggled to place themselves advantageously using every means at their disposal.[59] We can read the evidence not as presenting a dominant discourse rendered complex by exceptions and anomalies, but as a range of rhetorical possibilities deployed in a number of ways to express differing interests. We are presented with a dialectic of communal and individual praise and commemoration, where the heroic commander, the heroic polis, and the heroic Greek community negotiate their share of the conceptual booty.

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[58] Page 1981: 219; Bravi 2006: 70–72. Page's note on the opening line interprets the other two leaders as the Athenians and Aiginetans, "who quarrelled over the priority." Molyneux 1992: 196 argues that the verses are part of a larger elegiac poem on the contributions of the Naxians to the war effort.

[59] Back projection: Kowerski 2005: 79. Pritchett's evaluation (1974: 286–287) of Herodotus' treatment of awards of *aristeia* during the Persian Wars notes a lively fifth-century debate on such awards and suggests the early existence of "a spirit of mutual suspicion, detraction, and jealousy." Moreover, he proposes, "The tug-of-war in the claims of superior valor in military engagements is but one sign of the fierce competitive spirit generated by constant internecine warfare."

For Hieron, placement within this dialectic was both easy and difficult. Easy because he did not, like Pausanias and Themistokles, have to answer to a sovereign polis that could exile or execute him, or erase his efforts to inscribe himself in the monumental traditions of panhellenic sanctuaries (at least during his lifetime). Difficult because, for the reasons surveyed previously, it was not obvious that Hieron or his achievements could comfortably be fitted into the climate of mainland celebration in the 470s. Still, the atmosphere of competition that permeated mainland discourse perhaps allowed a new contestant to insert himself into the fray and be assimilated into contemporary rhetoric. Two pieces of evidence are immediately relevant here: the language used to describe Hieron's victory at Kumai in *Pythian* 1.71–80, and the possibility that Hieron may have commissioned an epigram to accompany his family's tripod dedications at Delphi.

When Pindar describes Hieron's naval victory in 474 at Kumai, he uses language that resonates immediately for anyone familiar with Persian War epigrams. He tells of what the Phoenicians and Carthaginians suffered, "when they were conquered by the leader of the Syracusans, who cast their young men into the sea from their fast-moving ships, dragging away from Greece the heavy burden of slavery" (*P.* 1.73–75). Detailed examination of this passage must wait until a later chapter, but in the present context it is worth lingering on the potential connection between the ode and the monument for the Athenian dead in the Persian Wars discussed above. As we saw, restoration of this monument and its epigrams is problematic, but if the restoration of "swift-moving ships" in epigram 1 (*IG* I^3 503/504, lapis A) line 3 is correct, and particularly if we then take the further step of making the monument a memorial for Salamis (whether by itself or in combination with Marathon), then there is a strong resonance between the epigram ("For on foot and on swift-moving ships, they prevented / all Greece from seeing the day of slavery") and *Pythian* 1 ("the leader of the Syracusans . . . cast their young men into the sea from their fast-moving ships, dragging away from Greece the heavy burden of slavery"). As Barron astutely observed, Pindar seems to be alluding to the epigram, and the reference is cemented by the further allusion to the Battle of Salamis in the next line of the ode: "I shall win the Athenians' gratitude as my wage from Salamis."[60] For Barron, this shows

[60] Barron 1988: 622; cf. Barron 1990: 140–141. Of course, if the restoration is incorrect, there is no allusion and Pindar would merely be employing an epic epithet. But in that case, one could wonder whether *P.* 1 exercised some influence on mainland formulations. The suggestion to supplement

that the "official" Athenian version of their central contribution to the Greek war effort was widespread enough that Pindar took note of it, and this is surely true. The comparison of Kumai to Salamis can be glossed as flattery,[61] but it can also be seen as a considered intervention into the contemporary politics of praise, where, as we shall see, Hieron surpasses mainland efforts.

Finally, we must return to the difficult case of the epigram(s) reported to have been associated with the Deinomenid tripod dedications of Delphi. As we saw in Chapter 2, the scholion to Pindar *Pythian* 1.152b reports, "They say that Gelon, in good will towards his brothers, dedicated golden tripods to the god, inscribing the following words:

Φημὶ Γέλων', Ἱέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,
παῖδας Δεινομένευς τοὺς τρίποδας θέμεναι,
βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη, πολλὴν δὲ παρασχεῖν
σύμμαχον Ἕλλησιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.

I declare that Gelon, Hieron, Polyzalos, and Thrasyboulos,
the children of Deinomenes, dedicated the tripods
having conquered barbarian races, and provided a great
hand of alliance towards freedom for the Greeks."

The problems posed by the reconstruction of the tripod dedications and the existence of a second version of the epigram have already been considered, but it is worth returning briefly here to the question of the dedicator if we were to accept the epigram as genuine. Luigi Bravi, who thinks that the second distich is not original, connects the original epigram with Gelon, who will have had it erected, possibly on a tablet, after the victory at Himera; the second distich came later, part of the manipulation of tradition whereby the Sicilians inserted themselves into the Persian War narratives of the mainland.[62] Certainty is impossible. Yet if the second distich is original, it fits well with the epigrams considered above, poems that highlighted the conquest of the barbarian and the struggle for Greek freedom.[63] We would then have to make Hieron the moving force behind its commission (rather

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line 3 of the epigram with "swift-moving ships" was made by Hiller von Gaertringen on the basis of the epigram preserved in the Palatine Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* 258 = *FGE* "Simonides" XLVI) for the victory over the Persians at the battle of Eurymedon in 468 (Matthaiou 2000–2003: 146). Even if the Eurymedon epigram is contemporary, it dates after *P.* 1.

[61] Barron 1990: 141.

[62] Bravi 2006: 79–80.

[63] Harrell 2002: 454–455 n. 51 thinks that the epigram was invented under the influence of *Pythian* 1, but the ode is itself indebted to a wider circle of celebration of Greek victory.

than, as was suggested in Chapter 2, seeing the epigram as a reading of Hieron's project). The epigram is nicely at home in the climate of debate that surrounded Sicilian participation and sympathies during the Persian Wars. Questions of who helped whom and with what goals were a focus of attention in the 470s, and the years between 474 (the battle of Kumai) and 470 (the composition of *Pythian* 1) were a perfect time to reconceptualize Syracusan efforts in the wake of the battle. The ode and the epigrams all participate in the same motifs, and nothing prevents us from reading them as broadly contemporary productions all aiming at the same goal: the elevation of their honorands to panhellenic preeminence.

Timocreon of Rhodes

We can shed further light on the climate of competition in the 470s by considering briefly the intriguing invective against Themistokles written by Timocreon of Rhodes (fr. 1 *PMG*).

ἀλλ' εἰ τύ γε Παυσανίαν ἢ καὶ τύ γε Ξάνθιππον αἰνεῖς,
ἢ τύ γε Λευτυχίδαν, ἐγὼ δ' Ἀριστείδαν ἐπαινέω
ἄνδρ' ἰερᾶν ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν
ἐλθεῖν ἕνα λῶιστον, ἐπεὶ Θεμιστοκλῆν ἤχθαρε Λατώ,
ψεύσταν ἄδικον προδόταν, ὃς Τιμοκρέοντα ξεῖνον ἐόντα
ἀργυρίοισι κοβαλικοῖσι πεισθεὶς οὐ κατᾶγεν (5)
πατρίδ' Ἰαλυσὸν εἴσ<ω>,
λαβὼν δὲ τρί' ἀργυρίου τάλαντ' ἔβα πλέων εἰς ὄλεθρον,
τοὺς μὲν κατάγων ἀδίκως, τοὺς δ' ἐκδιώκων, τοὺς δὲ καίνων·
ἀργυρίων δ' ὑπόπλεως Ἰσθμοῖ γελοίως πανδόκευε
ψυχρὰ <τὰ> κρεῖα παρίσχων· (10)
οἱ δ' ἤσθιον κηὔχοντο μὴ ὥραν Θεμιστοκλέος γενέσθαι

But if you praise Pausanias, or you indeed praise Xanthippos
or you Leotychidas, I for my part praise Aristeides,
the one best man who came from sacred Athens,
since Leto conceived a hatred for Themistokles,
a liar, an unjust man, a betrayer, who, although Timokreon was his guest-friend,
was won over by shady payments and did not restore him
to Ialysos his homeland.
But taking three talents of silver he went off sailing to hell,
restoring some men unjustly, exiling others, and killing others.

Stuffed full of money, he played the innkeeper laughably at the Isthmus,
providing cold meat.
But they were eating away and praying that there be no joint for Themistokles.

Ruth Scodel has aptly pointed out how this poems works as a kind of reverse epinician. It is composed in dactylo-epitrite, a meter associated with choral lyric and not with invective, yet it seems clearly to be sympotic poetry. Although the opening priamel sets up Aristeides as the object of praise, the bulk of the poem is spent insulting Themistokles. The accusations leveled against Themistokles in lines 4–11 also resonate inversely with epinician motifs of hospitality, generosity, and guest-friendship.[64] Most crucially, the poem presents itself as a discussion of Greek leaders in the Persian Wars.[65] Pausanias was the commander of the Greek forces at Plataia. Xanthippos commanded the Athenian fleet at the Battle of Mykale and defeated the Persians at Sestos in 479. Leotychidas commanded the Spartan troops at Mykale. Aristeides was the commander of the Athenian forces at the Battle of Plataia. The opening priamel, then, reinforces the picture of an agonistic context for Greek leaders in the 470s that has emerged in my discussion of Pausanias and Themistokles. Even if, with Robertson, we read the priamel as ironic, the humor works only if such comparisons were also made seriously.

The second stanza of the poem, moreover, continues the agonistic theme. The portrait of Themistokles as an innkeeper at the Isthmus most probably refers to the Isthmian Games of 480, which I have already mentioned in connection with Themistokles' prize of valor (or lack of it). Themistokles' innkeeping would then be a reference to his canvassing for first-place votes, possibly by means of banquets and entertainment, and might thus also parody the victory feast of a winner at the games, as Scodel again suggests.[66] His guests, however, are in no mood to give him the honor he wants and pray that he does not receive the honorific portion of meat.[67] If this interpretation

[64] Scodel 1983: 102–105. Kurke 2002: 99–101 argues that this poem represents the "generic displacement of the values of the city in favor of those of the elite symposium," since Timocreon is less interested in performance in the Persian Wars than in Themistokles' failure to fulfil the obligations of *xenia*.

[65] Scodel 1983: 103; cf. Stehle 1994: 514–515. Robertson 1980: 65–66 argues that all the figures named are disgraced leaders, so the priamel is ironic. As Stehle 1994: 512–513 remarks, there is no clear evidence that either Xanthippos or Aristeides was disgraced in the 470s.

[66] Scodel 1983: 106.

[67] For ὦραν as a joint of meat given as a portion of honor, see Slater cited in Robertson 1980: 62, n. 9.

of the poem is correct, there is a significant convergence between Herodotus' account of Themistokles' quest for a prize of victory and Timocreon's poem. Both reflect an atmosphere of intense competition among the major Greek players in the Persian Wars, and Timocreon fr. 1 (however we interpret the force of the priamel) shows that choosing the "best" object of praise among the leaders had reached the level of a parlor game. Timocreon, indeed, parodies this *agōn* as a way of mocking Themistokles.[68]

One final aspect of the poem deserves attention: the possibility that it reflects a postwar climate in which the question of medizing was a major concern in the assessment of leading politicians. Rachel McMullin has proposed that three of the figures in the priamel, Pausanias, Xanthippos, and Aristeides, are united in that they had all been accused of medism. Of Pausanias we have already heard, while both Xanthippos and Aristeides were ostracized from Athens in the 480s: in the case of Aristeides, an *ostrakon* accuses him of associations with the Mede, while Xanthippos' Alkmeonid connections may have rendered him suspicious for the same reasons.[69] Yet both Aristeides and Xanthippos redeemed themselves by good service during the war, while the ultimate downfall of Pausanias and Themistokles probably lay some years ahead. Much depends on the dating of the poem; I follow the consensus that places it in the early 470s, since, as McMullin remarks, the references to the Isthmus work best in that context.[70] Given the uncertainly over the date, however, and the uncertainty of any charge of medism against Xanthippos, it is unwise to press any precise historical context as an explanatory key.[71] Still, both Robertson and McMullin are correct to focus on the instability of reputation with regard to the leaders in the priamel. Xanthippos and Aristeides had been exiled and rehabilitated; the days of Leotychidas were numbered (his exile imminent or recent), Pausanias' behavior (on any reading of the date) was problematic, and Themistokles was engaged in his long struggle for appreciation (with ostracism and exile on the horizon). What they have in common is fraught relationships with their own countrymen and the rest of Greece, founded on reputations that highlighted, for good or ill, performance against or with

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[68] Cf. McMullin 2001: 60; Kurke 2002: 101.

[69] McMullin 2001: 62–65. McMullin exempts Leotychidas from medizing associations (62), yet he was exiled from Sparta in 476 on a charge of bribery resulting from his failure to prosecute vigorously a campaign against the medizing Aleuadai of Larissa.

[70] McMullin 2001: 57. See Scodel 1983: 102 n. 1 for a concise summary of proposed datings. Robertson 1980: 69, however, argues for the end of the decade, after the condemnation of Themistokles.

[71] Michael Flower suggests to me that one reason for Xanthippos' brutality at Sestos (refusing money from the Persian commander, crucifying him, and having his son killed in front of his eyes, Hdt. 9.120) was to ostentatiously place himself beyond accusations of medism.

the Persians. Timocreon was another exile and one whose chances of restoration appear to have been blighted by Themistokles. He had also been accused of medism, as we see from *PMG* fr. 3 ("Timocreon, then, is not the only one to make oaths with the Medes. There are other villains too, and I am not the only dock-tailed fox. There are other foxes too.").[72] His poem highlights the complex dynamics of praise and invective that characterize the 470s, played out on the stage of poetry and festival.

Conclusion

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to pin down the precise chronology of the activities of Themistokles, Pausanias, Timocreon, and Simonides in the 470s and beyond. Yet whatever the dates of Themistokles' final flight to Persia and the death of Pausanias, the general tendency of their reputations was not in doubt. In the ten years after the Persian Wars, the two heroes of the hour had both lost considerable influence and were objects of suspicion to their fellow citizens and the other Greeks. In the end, both would be accused of medism and plotting the subjection of the Greeks to the Persian King. Pausanias could even be associated with the desire to become tyrant of Greece. If we were to speak in Pindaric terms, we could say that they "could not digest their good fortune" (*O*. 1.55–56), even though they were, according to Thucydides, the most brilliant (λαμπροτάτους) Greeks of their time (Thuc. 1.138.6). When Pindar makes his vaunts concerning Hieron, declaring that his fame shines in the Peloponnese (*O*. 1.23–24) or that no previous Greek surpassed him in honor (*P*. 2.58–61), we can choose to read them as generic epinician flourishes, or as deliberate interventions in the contemporary politics of fame. When Pindar evokes models of quasi-Hesiodic kingship in *Olympian* 1 or *Pythian* 1, these evocations gain particular resonance as (partial) responses to the tensions that characterized Hellenic leadership.

One aspect of this tension was, of course, the complex links that joined individuals to their community. The manipulation of this relationship in epinician poetry has been highlighted in the work of Kurke, who documents the efforts made by Pindar towards "smoothing out the political tensions inherent in athletic success."[73] Yet if success at the games, and particularly in hippic contests, was liable to make citizens suspicious of overweening political ambitions on the part of the victor, how much

[72] McMullin 2001: 57–58, 64–65.
[73] Kurke 1991: 163–224; quote at 203.

greater the danger when the victor's success was in the panhellenic arena of war, and especially war against the Persians. No wonder the Athenians looked askance at Themistokles after the elaborate rituals of praise he received in Sparta and his idolization at the Olympic Games. No wonder that they did not allow the victorious generals in the Eion campaign to inscribe their names on the herms celebrating the victory.[74] The defeats of the Persians were panhellenic achievements but were also ideal for exploitation in terms of individual political aims. Clearly it is a dangerous thing to praise a victorious general or for the general to proclaim his merits; this generates precisely the envy and ill feeling about which Pindar meditates so obsessively in his victory odes. The danger is that the victor will forget his position in the community and claim a primacy that his polis cannot allow. Both Pausanias and Themistokles fall into this abyss.

How might such a situation be avoided? It may be that a figure like Hieron enjoyed one advantage: he was endowed by virtue of his political position with the kind of preeminence to which most mainland generals could only aspire. He did not have to canvas Persian support in order to be a ruler among the Greeks, and his kingship was (as we shall see) not purchased at the cost of Greek freedom, but could be said to have enabled it. He embodied his polis and its values and dictated the protocols of praise. To be sure, he too could be envied, but envy of a tyrant is inherent and dealing with it skillfully was part of his everyday task. We shall be examining how the epinician odes of Pindar claim for Hieron a place in the panhellenic firmament by inserting him into the climate of aretalogy characteristic of the 470s. This is explicit in the case of *Pythian* 1, which places him squarely in the tradition of mainland military victories, and implicit elsewhere. In the person of Hieron, moreover, a fortunate convergence of athletic, military, and political triumph could be suggested, with the result that success in one area could stand as a sign of success in another.

In the agonistic world of the 470s the relative responsibilities and achievements of the major political players were a fraught issue, particularly given a competitive context where a single victor was often celebrated. This world of victorious generals featured (among others) a Spartan with delusions of grandeur and purported aspirations to Persian-style tyranny. It featured an atmosphere of intense competition about who had contributed most to the Greek victories, and of associated slanders and praises,

[74] See note 39.

all presented on a stage that included one's native city and the panhellenic sanctuaries. Finally, this world probably encompassed a lively debate about Sicilian activities and motives during the Persian Wars and the extent to which Sicilians such as Hieron should be allowed to associate themselves with the fruits of victory. Pindar's epinicians are a skilled bid to argue that Hieron belongs in the competition and has, in fact, won.

CHAPTER 5 | *Pythian* 2: A Royal Poetics

Α′ Μεγαλοπόλιες ὦ Συράκοσαι, βαθυπολέμου
τέμενος Ἄρεος, ἀνδρῶν ἵππων τε σιδαροχαρ-
μᾶν δαιμόνιαι τροφοί,
ὕμμιν τόδε τᾶν λιπαρᾶν ἀπὸ Θηβᾶν φέρων
μέλος ἔρχομαι ἀγγελίαν τετραορίας ἐλελίχθονος,
εὐάρματος Ἱέρων ἐν ᾇ κρατέων
τηλαυγέσιν ἀνέδησεν Ὀρτυγίαν στεφάνοις,
ποταμίας ἕδος Ἀρτέμιδος, ἅς οὐκ ἄτερ
κείνας ἀγαναῖσιν ἐν χερσὶ ποικιλα-
νίους ἐδάμασσε πώλους.

ἐπὶ γὰρ ἰοχέαιρα παρθένος χερὶ διδύμᾳ
ὅ τ’ ἐναγώνιος Ἑρμᾶς αἰγλάεντα τίθησι κόσ-
μον, ξεστὸν ὅταν δίφρον
ἔν θ’ ἅρματα πεισιχάλινα καταζευγνύῃ
σθένος ἵππιον, ὀρσοτρίαιναν εὐρυβίαν καλέων θεόν.
ἄλλοις δέ τις ἐτέλεσσεν ἄλλος ἀνήρ
εὐαχέα βασιλεῦσιν ὕμνον ἄποιν’ ἀρετᾶς.
κελαδέοντι μὲν ἀμφὶ Κινύραν πολλάκις
φᾶμαι Κυπρίων, τὸν ὁ χρυσοχαῖτα προ-
φρόνως ἐφίλησ’ Ἀπόλλων,

ἱερέα κτίλον Ἀφροδίτας· ἄγει δὲ χάρις
φίλων ποί τινος ἀντὶ ἔργων ὀπιζομένα·
σὲ δ’, ὦ Δεινομένειε παῖ, Ζεφυρία πρὸ δόμων
Λοκρὶς παρθένος ἀπύει,
πολεμίων καμάτων ἐξ ἀμαχάνων
διὰ τεὰν δύναμιν δρακεῖσ’ ἀσφαλές·

θεῶν δ᾽ ἐφετμαῖς Ἰξίονα φαντὶ ταῦτα βροτοῖς
λέγειν ἐν πτερόεντι τροχῷ
παντᾷ κυλινδόμενον·
τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς
ἀμοιβαῖς ἐποιχομένους τίνεσθαι.

Β′ ἔμαθε δὲ σαφές. εὐμενέσσι γὰρ παρὰ Κρονίδαις (25)
γλυκὺν ἑλὼν βίοτον, μακρὸν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ὄλ-
βον, μαινομέναις φρασίν
Ἥρας ὅτ᾽ ἐράσσατο, τὰν Διὸς εὐναὶ λάχον
πολυγαθέες· ἀλλά νιν ὕβρις εἰς ἀυάταν ὑπεράφανον
ὦρσεν· τάχα δὲ παθὼν ἐοικότ᾽ ἀνήρ
ἐξαίρετον ἔλε μόχθον. αἱ δύο δ᾽ ἀμπλακίαι (30)
φερέπονοι τελέθοντι· τὸ μὲν ἥρως ὅτι
ἐμφύλιον αἷμα πρώτιστος οὐκ ἄτερ
τέχνας ἐπέμειξε θνατοῖς,

ὅτι τε μεγαλοκευθέεσσιν ἔν ποτε θαλάμοις
Διὸς ἄκοιτιν ἐπειρᾶτο. χρὴ δὲ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν αἰ-
εὶ παντὸς ὁρᾶν μέτρον.
εὐναὶ δὲ παράτροποι ἐς κακότατ᾽ ἀθρόαν (35)
ἔβαλον· ποτὶ καὶ τὸν ἵκοντ᾽· ἐπεὶ
νεφέλᾳ παρελέξατο
ψεῦδος γλυκὺ μεθέπων ἄϊδρις ἀνήρ·
εἶδος γὰρ ὑπεροχωτάτᾳ πρέπεν Οὐρανιᾶν
θυγατέρι Κρόνου· ἄντε δόλον αὐτῷ θέσαν
Ζηνὸς παλάμαι, καλὸν πῆμα. τὸν δὲ τε- (40)
τράκναμον ἔπραξε δεσμόν

ἐὸν ὄλεθρον ὅγ᾽· ἐν δ᾽ ἀφύκτοισι γυιοπέδαις
πεσὼν τὰν πολύκοινον ἀνδέξατ᾽ ἀγγελίαν.
ἄνευ οἱ Χαρίτων τέκεν γόνον ὑπερφίαλον
μόνα καὶ μόνον οὔτ᾽ ἐν ἀν-
δράσι γερασφόρον οὔτ᾽ ἐν θεῶν νόμοις·
τὸν ὀνύμαζε τράφοισα Κένταυρον, ὅς
ἵπποισι Μαγνητίδεσσιν ἐμείγνυτ᾽ ἐν Παλίου (45)
σφυροῖς, ἐκ δ᾽ ἐγένοντο στρατός
θαυμαστός, ἀμφοτέροις
ὁμοῖοι τοκεῦσι, τὰ μα-
τρόθεν μὲν κάτω, τὰ δ᾽ ὕπερθε πατρός.

Γ′ θεὸς ἅπαν ἐπὶ ἐλπίδεσσι τέκμαρ ἀνύεται,
θεός, ὃ καὶ πτερόεντ᾽ αἰετὸν κίχε, καὶ θαλασ-
σαῖον παραμείβεται
δελφῖνα, καὶ ὑψιφρόνων τιν᾽ ἔκαμψε βροτῶν,
ἑτέροισι δὲ κῦδος ἀγήραον παρέδωκ᾽· ἐμὲ δὲ χρεών
φεύγειν δάκος ἀδινὸν κακαγοριᾶν.
εἶδον γὰρ ἑκὰς ἐὼν τὰ πόλλ᾽ ἐν ἀμαχανίᾳ
ψογερὸν Ἀρχίλοχον βαρυλόγοις ἔχθεσιν
πιαινόμενον· τὸ πλουτεῖν δὲ σὺν τύχᾳ
πότμου σοφίας ἄριστον.

τὺ δὲ σάφα νιν ἔχεις ἐλευθέρᾳ φρενὶ πεπαρεῖν,
πρύτανι κύριε πολλᾶν μὲν εὐστεφάνων ἀγυι-
ᾶν καὶ στρατοῦ. εἰ δέ τις
ἤδη κτεάτεσσί τε καὶ περὶ τιμᾷ λέγει
ἕτερόν τιν᾽ ἀν᾽ Ἑλλάδα τῶν πάροιθε γενέσθαι ὑπέρτερον,
χαύνᾳ πραπίδι παλαιμονεῖ κενεά.
εὐανθέα δ᾽ ἀναβάσομαι στόλον ἀμφ᾽ ἀρετᾷ
κελαδέων. νεότατι μὲν ἀρήγει θράσος
δεινῶν πολέμων· ὅθεν φαμὶ καὶ σὲ τὰν
ἀπείρονα δόξαν εὑρεῖν,

τὰ μὲν ἐν ἱπποσόαισιν ἄνδρεσσι μαρνάμενον,
τὰ δ᾽ ἐν πεζομάχαισι· βουλαὶ δὲ πρεσβύτεραι
ἀκίνδυνον ἐμοὶ ἔπος <σὲ> ποτὶ πάντα λόγον
ἐπαινεῖν παρέχοντι. χαῖ-
ρε· τόδε μὲν κατὰ Φοίνισσαν ἐμπολάν
μέλος ὑπὲρ πολιᾶς ἁλὸς πέμπεται·
τὸ Καστόρειον δ᾽ ἐν Αἰολίδεσσι χορδαῖς θέλων
ἄθρησον χάριν ἑπτακτύπου
φόρμιγγος ἀντόμενος.
γένοι᾽, οἷός ἐσσὶ μαθών.
καλός τοι πίθων παρὰ παισίν, αἰεί

Δ′ καλός. ὁ δὲ Ῥαδάμανθυς εὖ πέπραγεν, ὅτι φρενῶν
ἔλαχε καρπὸν ἀμώμητον, οὐδ᾽ ἀπάταισι θυ-
μὸν τέρπεται ἔνδοθεν,
οἷα ψιθύρων παλάμαις ἔπετ᾽ αἰεὶ βροτῷ.
ἄμαχον κακὸν ἀμφοτέροις διᾱβολιᾶν ὑποφάτιες,
ὀργαῖς ἀτενὲς ἀλωπέκων ἴκελοι.

κέρδει δὲ τί μάλα τοῦτο κερδαλέον τελέθει;
ἅτε γὰρ ἐννάλιον πόνον ἐχοίσας βαθύν
σκευᾶς ἑτέρας, ἀβάπτιστος εἶμι φελ-
λὸς ὣς ὑπὲρ ἔρκος ἅλμας.

ἀδύνατα δ᾽ ἔπος ἐκβαλεῖν κραταιὸν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς
δόλιον ἀστόν· ὅμως μὰν σαίνων ποτὶ πάντας ἄ-
ταν πάγχυ διαπλέκει.
οὔ οἱ μετέχω θράσεος. φίλον εἴη φιλεῖν·
ποτὶ δ᾽ ἐχθρὸν ἅτ᾽ ἐχθρὸς ἐὼν λύκοιο
δίκαν ὑποθεύσομαι,
ἄλλ᾽ ἄλλοτε πατέων ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς.
ἐν πάντα δὲ νόμον εὐθύγλωσσος ἀνὴρ προφέρει,
παρὰ τυραννίδι, χὠπόταν ὁ λάβρος στρατός,
χὥταν πόλιν οἱ σοφοὶ τηρέωντι. χρὴ
δὲ πρὸς θεὸν οὐκ ἐρίζειν,

ὃς ἀνέχει τοτὲ μὲν τὰ κείνων, τότ᾽ αὖθ᾽ ἑτέροις
ἔδωκεν μέγα κῦδος. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ταῦτα νόον
ἰαίνει φθονερῶν· στάθμας δέ τινες ἑλκόμενοι
περισσᾶς ἐνέπαξαν ἕλ-
κος ὀδυναρὸν ἑᾷ πρόσθε καρδίᾳ,
πρὶν ὅσα φροντίδι μητίονται τυχεῖν.
φέρειν δ᾽ ἐλαφρῶς ἐπαυχένιον λαβόντα ζυγόν
ἀρήγει· ποτὶ κέντρον δέ τοι
λακτιζέμεν τελέθει
ὀλισθηρὸς οἶμος· ἀδόν-
τα δ᾽ εἴη με τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁμιλεῖν.

A′ Great city of Syracuse, sacred precinct of Ares
who plumbs the depths of war, divine nurse of men and horses
that delight in iron,
I come to you bearing this song from shining Thebes,
an announcement of the four-horse chariot that shakes the earth,
in which Hieron victoriously conquered with his
splendid carriage
and wreathed Ortygia with far-beaming garlands—
Ortygia, the dwelling-place of Artemis goddess of the river.
With her help
he mastered those colts with their embroidered reins
using his gentle hands,

for with both hands the arrow-shooting maiden
and Hermes, lord of the contest, put on the gleaming tackle
whenever to the polished chariot-board,
and to the chariot that persuades the bit, he yokes
his mighty horses, calling upon the god who
brandishes the trident
and whose strength is wide.
Different men have accomplished for different kings
a sonorous hymn as recompense for their excellence:
often on the subject of Kinyras
the traditions of the Cypriots resound,
Kinyras, whom golden-haired Apollo dearly loved,
the tame ram-priest of Aphrodite. Reverent gratitude leads the way
in response, I imagine, to someone's kindly deeds.[1]
But you, child of Deinomenes, you the maiden of
Epizephyrian Lokroi
celebrates in front of her house,
after toils with the enemy that left her resourceless;
because of your power she can look around in safety.
By divine command, they say, Ixion repeats this to mortals
on his winged wheel
as he rolls along everywhere:
requite a benefactor, approaching him with gentle responses.

B′ He learned this lesson clearly. For although he had achieved
a sweet life among the gracious children of Kronos,
he did not withstand his great happiness,
when with maddened wits
he lusted after Hera, who was allotted to the joyful
marriage bed of Zeus.
But his mad blindness roused him to arrogant folly.
Soon the man suffered what was fitting and
he won an extraordinary woe. His two sins
received their full punishment: the hero was the first
to involve mortals deceitfully in kindred bloodshed,

and once in her spacious chambers
he made an attempt upon the spouse of Zeus. One must always
observe the measure of every affair
according to one's own status,

[1]For a discussion of this translation, see Carey 1981: 30; Most 1985: 74–75.

and unsanctioned sexual acts hurl the offender into
intense misery.
This happened to him too, since he lay with a cloud,
pursuing a sweet falsity—ignorant man!
In shape she was like the most outstanding of the goddesses
descended from Ouranos:
the daughter of Kronos. She was set as a trick for him,
by the contrivances of Zeus, a beautiful woe.
He fashioned the four-limbed bondage

to be his own destruction; when he fell into inescapable chains
he made the announcement that applies to all.
Unaccompanied by the Graces she bore to him
an overweening offspring,
solitary as her child was solitary, a child that won honor
neither among men nor in the ordinances of the gods.
She reared him and named him Kentauros, and he
mingled with the mares of Magnesia on Mt Pelion's
slopes, and a host was born,
amazing, like to both
their parents: the mother's parts below,
the father's above.

Γ′ God achieves his every goal corresponding to his hopes.
God overtakes even the winged eagle and
outstrips the dolphin in the sea,
and he bends down a mortal who has lofty thoughts,
while to others he gives ageless fame. But I
must flee the close bite of evil speeches,
for I have seen him from afar—for the most part
in helplessness—
Archilochus the fault-finder,
fattening himself on heavy-speaking hatreds.
It is best to be rich in wisdom by the dispensation of fate.

You can clearly manifest this through your liberal spirit,
authoritative lord of many garlanded streets
and of the host. If any
of our contemporaries asserts that
in terms of possessions and honor
someone else, some predecessor in Greece, surpassed you,

he wrestles with vain thoughts in his empty wit.
I shall embark on a ship crowned with flowers,
sounding forth your excellence. Boldness is an aid to youth
in dread wars. So I say that you too
have discovered boundless glory,

fighting among men with their rushing horses
and in infantry battles. Your mature counsels supply (65)
me with a riskless utterance on every account
to praise you. Hail! This song, like Phoenician merchandise,
is sent to you over the grey sea.
Contemplate with pleasure the Kastor-song in
Aeolian strings,
a graceful favor of the seven-toned (70)
lyre, when you encounter it.
Learn what kind of man you are and show yourself to be so.
The ape, you know, is beautiful in the eyes of children,

Δ′ always beautiful. But Rhadamanthys has fared well,
because his mind
was allotted a blameless fruit,
nor does he rejoice the spirit within him with deception,
the sort of ills that always follow a mortal
because of the contrivances of whisperers. (75)
The expounders of slander are an unconquerable evil for both;
their characters are utterly fox-like.
But what really is this profit that comes to pass
through their desire for gain?
For while the rest of the net is occupied with its deep-sea labor
I shall go like a cork above the surface of the sea. (80)

It is impossible for a deceitful citizen to utter an effective word
among the good. Nevertheless, he utterly weaves his own ruin
as he fawns on everyone.
I do not share his boldness: my prayer is to love my friend
but as an enemy I shall attack my enemy like a wolf,
treading on crooked paths: sometimes this way,
sometimes that. (85)
The straight-talking man excels in every form of government:
in a tyranny, when the boisterous host rules,
and when the wise watch over the city.
But one must not strive against god,

who exalts now the fortunes of one group,
now in turn gives great glory to others.
But not even this
heals the mind of the envious: some people,
dragging at a measuring line
pulled too tight, fix a painful wound in their own heart
before they achieve what they plot in their mind.
When you have taken the yoke upon your neck
it helps to bear it lightly
Kicking against the goad ends up being
a slippery path. My prayer
is to please the good and to associate with them.

It would be sensible to start an analysis of Pindar's odes for Hieron of Syracuse with our earliest preserved specimen. Unfortunately, the principle is easier to formulate than achieve. *Olympian* 1 (476 B.C.) is the earliest securely dated epinician for Hieron, but the matter is complicated by uncertainties surrounding the dating and occasion of *Pythian* 2. It has been given both an early and a late dating, and each context opens up a variety of interpretive possibilities. Do we view it as an introduction to the relationship between poet and tyrant, or as the result of a longer development? In what follows I shall be arguing for an early dating; nevertheless, the themes presented in the ode would be in any case a useful entry point into the complexities of Pindar's construction of Sicilian monarchy. If conclusive evidence for a later dating emerged, some of the points in these pages would need reformulation but the overall analysis would remain unchanged. This is a poem that focuses on a set of problems concerning the outstanding individual and the world in which he must find his place. Hieron is this exceptional mortal, and the great sinner Ixion is his negative counterpart. Such men must withstand their own prosperity and need a certain set of moral and intellectual skills to do so, skills that involve the self-knowledge to place oneself in a correct relationship with the gods and with one's fellow men. One might make this remark about any athletic victor, but in the case of kings the normal dangers and opportunities generated by victory are magnified by a special constitutional status that makes them not just the object of slander and jealousy but also a potential origin of these negative emotions and actions. Pindar's praise for Hieron the ruler focuses on him as a source of judgment as well as on his being judged and evaluated by others. The poem theorizes principles of discursive and political action and applies them on a cosmic stage that includes both Olympos and the differing constitutional situations

of the Greek world. Far from being a parochial piece of praise that draws its energies from and expends them on the Syracusan court, *Pythian* 2 attempts to set Hieron's Syracuse in a framework that will render his rule comprehensible and acceptable to a wider Greek public.

The ode contextualizes Hieron by presenting the interaction of the various forms of discourse out of and against which Pindaric praise emerges: Cypriot celebration of a mythological priest-king (Kinyras), the grateful proclamations of the maidens of Epizephyrian Lokroi concerning Hieron, traditional stories about the crimes of Ixion, Archilochean invective, the language of fable, general slander, and straight talking. Pindar's control over and presentation of these modes gives him a special authority to adjudicate how the correct relationship between superior and inferior is expressed in speech and song. His authority is reinforced by the position of personal engagement and commitment he adopts in the poem. This engagement has made *Pythian* 2 a notoriously difficult ode to interpret. It has generated extreme hypotheses about its connection to its historical context and has often been a focus of historicist criticism. The deficiencies of a biographical historicist approach are by now well known, but we shall nevertheless need to explore what it is about the ode that generates hypotheses of personal involvement on the part of the poet. The task is to recover and present a context that will illuminate rather than obscure the poetic strategies of the ode, strategies of political and poetic rhetoric rather than reconstructed biography. Pindar constructs *Pythian* 2 to present a royal poetics tailored to Hieron's particular needs.

After a brief discussion of date and occasion I shall analyze the ode in four sections. The first (lines 1–20), tied most closely to the victory that is the ostensible occasion for the ode, invokes Syracuse, Hieron's city, and presents Hieron himself surrounded by divinities as he yokes his chariot. Mastery of the chariot has implications for both divine favor and kingly power. Kings, we learn, receive song as recompense for their virtues. One example is Kinyras, and Hieron himself is another, since the Locrian maiden calls on him in gratitude for saving her city. At line 21 we move to the cautionary tale of Ixion (21–48), who now proclaims eternally the moral that one should be grateful to one's benefactors. Although he enjoyed divine favor, he had attempted to seduce Hera. Zeus tricked him by fashioning a female from a cloud and then punished him by binding him to an eternally revolving wheel. The cloud-female gave birth to the monstrous Kentauros, who subsequently engendered the centaurs. A third section (49–67) meditates on divine power and on the necessity for the poet to flee the hateful speech of Archilochus before returning to Hieron's

virtues in both war and peace. The last section of the ode (67–96) is marked off by the formal greeting *chaire* (67). The poet now urges Hieron to know himself and not to rejoice in deception. He considers the dangers posed by the deceitful citizen and his speech before declaring the superiority of the citizen (and poet) of integrity. The jealous ignore the superiority of the gods and only bring about their own destruction. The poet, however, will be satisfied by converse with the good, and with this invocation of the community of the good the ode comes to an end. The chapter's concluding section returns to the issue of personal engagement, arguing that critics are correct to see in the poem the presentation of a particularly engaged poet, but that this dynamic reflects the necessary intensities of royal poetics.

Occasion

Issues of date and occasion are significant because they raise the possibility that Hieron commissioned a major poem for an occasion other than one of the four great panhellenic festivals, or (on another reading) that Pindar approached Hieron with a noncommissioned ode as a kind of sample piece. The poem is preserved among the Pythian odes, but controversy over its correct placement has existed since antiquity. Some have wanted to see it as an Olympian ode, some as a Pythian, some as Panathenaic or as emanating from other local festivals, and some as not an epinician at all. Callimachus seems to have placed it among the *Nemean* odes, usually a sign of uncertain classification.[2] These difficulties arise because Pindar leaves it unclear where the chariot victory mentioned in the ode (3–6) took place. All Pindaric victory odes mention the name of the victor, his city, and the contest in which the victory was won. The only two cities mentioned in the ode that could be the site of games are Syracuse and Thebes. When Pindar says that the victory announcement is coming to Syracuse from Thebes (1–4), this could mean that that the victory was won in Thebes, although Thebes features in other epinicia simply as the poet's native city.[3] If the poem is not an epinician, correct labeling of the victory location becomes less crucial. Thus Wilamowitz thought that the poem was a "poetic letter," designed to defend Pindar against the charge

[2] See Young 1983: 42–44; Ferrari 2012: 165.

[3] Carey 1981: 21–23; Most 1985: 61–68. Lefkowitz 1976: 165, 174–175, n. 2, argues for a victory in Syracuse, since the scholiasts on *Olympian* 13.158a, c assert that Isthmian Games were held at Syracuse. This has the advantage of explaining the reference to Poseidon in line 12, but the existence of Isthmian Games at Syracuse rests on the word of the scholiast alone.

that (on the evidence of *P*. 11.53) he was hostile to tyranny.[4] Yet it seems quite clear that the song is an announcement of a victory, and the hypothesis of a poetic letter (an unexampled genre in Pindar's time) is unhelpful, particularly since it makes the poet's intense engagement with his material in this poem something foreign to the realm of epinician.[5]

If the poem is an epinician, then it should be attached to a victory.[6] Although Hieron won victories in the horseracing competition at Delphi in 482 and 478 and at Olympia in 476 and 472, he did not win a chariot victory at Delphi until 470 and at Olympia until 468. But if *Pythian* 2 really were for the long-awaited Olympic or Pythian victory, it seems inconceivable that no attention whatsoever is devoted to the Olympic or Pythian Games.[7] Arguments that the poem is a second ode (in addition to *Pythian* 1) for the Delphic chariot victory of 470, or should be associated with the Olympic chariot victory of 468, are problematic for other reasons as well. The ode's only specific reference to military success is at lines 18–20, where we hear of Hieron's efforts on behalf of the maidens of Epizephyrian Lokroi. This reference should reflect Hieron's intervention in Southern Italy on behalf of Epizephyrian Lokroi against the threats of Anaxilas of Rhegion around 477, and it works best if the poem was composed relatively close to that date.[8] Although it is possible that the motif of Locrian gratitude enjoyed a long life, it seems unlikely that it would continue to be the preferred example of Hieron's external success after his naval victory over the Etruscans at Kumai in 474.[9] When *Pythian* 2 talks about Hieron's military triumphs at lines 64–66, he is said to have "discovered boundless glory, fighting among men with their rushing horses and in infantry battles." Whatever military patina these lines generate, it is not sufficient to encompass a naval victory that Pindar would describe at *P*. 1.75 as freeing Greece from slavery. This gives us the years 477/6 and 475/4 as the beginning and end points for the time of composition.

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[4] Wilamowitz 1922: 292–293.

[5] See further Chapter 7 on *P*. 3.

[6] See also the review of scholarship (leading to an opposite conclusion) in Gantz 1978: 15–19.

[7] Young 1983: 45, however, accepts previous arguments that the splendor of the opening is an argument in favor of the 468 dating; the Olympic victory would have been so well known there was no need to mention it.

[8] Most interpreters connect this passage with Hieron's protection of the Locrians against Anaxilas in 477 (Woodbury 1978; Carey 1981: 21–23; D'Angelo 2002), though some suggest a later date (Gantz 1978: 15–18; cf. Lloyd-Jones 1973: 120).

[9] So, rightly, Oates 1963: 387, although Lloyd-Jones 1973: 119 is unconvinced (cf. Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: liv; Cingano in Gentili et al. 1995: 45). Currie 2005: 258–259 also adopts the early dating for many of the reasons summarized here, and he strengthens his case by emending ἐν ᾧ in line 5 to ἐν αἷς with Thebes as the antecedent to the relative.

There is one additional piece of information that might help to pinpoint the historical context of the composition. The scholiast for lines 69–71, where the poet asks Hieron to "contemplate with pleasure the Kastor-song in Aeolian strings," comments "Pindar agreed to compose the epinician for pay, but then additionally sent along with it at no charge the *hyporchema* whose beginning is 'Understand what I say to you, you who are named for holy [*hierōn*] rites'."[10] A more complete citation of the beginning of this poem (= fr. 105a) is given by a scholiast to Aristophanes (*Birds* 926), who continues this opening with the words "father, founder of Aitna" (πάτερ κτίστορ Αἴτνας). If the scholiast were correct here, this would mean that *Pythian* 2 was associated with a poem tied to the foundation of Aitna in 476. This would provide only a *terminus post quem*, but it might also pull the poem toward that date. Thus Ferrari has recently argued that the poem is a sacrificial song that celebrated a victory but was "performed at Aitna during a festival in honor of Zeus."[11] Unfortunately, the poem bears scant trace of any celebration of Zeus of Aitna (we may contrast *Pythian* 1 here); nor is it certain that we should believe the scholiast's reconstruction of the patronage situation. It is perfectly possible to read lines 69–71 as referring not to another song but to the very composition that is being performed. Still, even if we do not accept that the poem represented by fr. 105a was sent as a bonus for the epinician, some temporal connection between the *hyporchema* and *Pythian* 2 may underlie the scholiast's theory. This might solidify the placement of the ode in the mid-470s, although celebration of the foundation continued on through the end of the decade. We cannot, however, use the possible connection with the *hyporchema* either to specify a performance context or to narrow down the date decisively.[12]

If the ode was indeed performed before 474, then it cannot have commemorated a victory in a panhellenic chariot event. The most plausible hypothesis is that it celebrates a victory in the Theban Iolaia festival. Victory in one of the great festivals needed planning and practice, and Hieron may well have trained for this by entering his chariot in less important local games.[13] There is thus a good case that *Pythian* 2 is the earliest of Pindar's odes for Hieron (or at least close in date to *Olympian* 1). It introduces themes that will

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[10] Schol. *P*. 2.127: τὸν ἐπίνικον ἐπὶ μισθῷ συντάξας ὁ Πίνδαρος ἐκ περιττοῦ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῷ προῖκα ὑπόρχημα, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή "Σύνες ὅ τοι λέγω ζαθέων ἱερῶν ἐπώνυμε."

[11] Ferrari 2012: 167; it is unclear to me, however, which victory Ferrari has in mind.

[12] Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: liii–lv can thus see the "Kastor-song" as a choral ode sung in honor of the victory at Delphi in 470, while *P*. 2 is an unofficial epinician (here he follows Wilamowitz 1922: 293–294).

[13] Most 1985: 66–67. Cf. Wilamowitz 1922: 286 (who rejects the possibility).

resonate in the later poems: the celebration of the glories of Hieron's kingship in terms of military and intellectual success and wealth, the comparison with quasi-mythologized kings as well as other heroes of mythology, the introduction of a great sinner as a negative comparandum, and the focus on problems linked to discourse with and about kings. It is futile to agonize whether it is a "real" or "official" epinician, whether it is best described as a letter or a song for sacrifice. It is a (self-described) announcement of chariot victory, whatever the status of the festival, and uses the fact of victory as a springboard for considering what is owed to success (both to and from the one who has won it). It moves rapidly (almost too rapidly—hence our discomfort) from athletic success into the problem of recompense for kingly and divine benefaction. When it does so, it introduces the dynamic that will underlie all the Hieron odes, the coding of the problems of monarchy as problems in the reception of victory at the games.

Hieron, Master of Animals

The opening is unusual among the Hieron odes in that it is the only one to focus on a city (Syracuse) before introducing Hieron as *laudandus*.[14] Pindar's song is presented as an announcement to the city, which is in turn described as a sacred area (*temenos*) for the god of war. The men and horses Syracuse rears are thus envisioned first of all in terms of martial qualities.[15] The announcement of chariot victory is thus seen through the lens of military achievement, as though Hieron himself were a Homeric warrior driving into battle. Victory in the games has resulted in further glory for Ortygia, and its tradition of excellence in war is now connected to the person of Hieron, who had participated in earlier Deinomenid victories (as lines 63–65 stress). The description of the city is also charged in terms of the governing themes of the poem. Syracusan horses and men "delight in iron." This means firstly that they delight in battle, playing on the Homeric sense of *charmē* as the joy of battle.[16] Yet it should also mean "delighting in the bit," an interpretation that implies that the horses rejoice in the means by which they are domesticated and controlled, that they willingly participate in a higher purpose. What is true of horses may also be true of men, who are harnessed by Hieron to fulfill his virtuous aims.

[14] Mann 2001: 258.
[15] For Syracuse as a sacred space, see Bell 1984: 2.
[16] Cf. Gildersleeve 1890: 256, *ad loc.*

The victory message thus announces Hieron's power over his city and sets up a dynamic of ordered control.

The following lines reinforce the impression that Hieron's kingly might is represented as control over a chariot. We see Hieron, in the company of Artemis, goddess of Ortygia, and Hermes, yoke his chariot and call on Poseidon. Three Olympian divinities here show their personal attention to Hieron and his chariot, evidence of conspicuous divine favor.[17] Since Hieron is beloved of the gods, they supervise and ensure his success in his chariot-related activities. The picture in these lines has engendered speculation on whether Hieron actually drove his chariot or at least was closely involved in the training of his horses.[18] Certainly no other charioteer is mentioned here, but it is overinterpreting the Greek to maintain that the ode shows Hieron driving his horses to victory. We are told only that Hieron yokes the mares, although even here we may well doubt that he ever sullied his regal hands with the tackle.[19] Yet perhaps the question to ask is not whether Hieron ever visited the stables, but why he is represented as doing so. Something subtler is going on than a brazen attempt to make a historical claim about Hieron's charioteering. Pindar shows the tyrant mastering nature under the protection of the goddess who presided over wild nature and over the transition of wild entities (like young girls) to acculturated and productive members of society. In this context, it is noteworthy that Hieron's mastery is gentle (8) and successful.[20] The description of the chariot in line 11 is also significant since it focuses on obedience as the counterpart of persuasion: on the interpretation adopted in the translation above, the chariot "persuades" the bit.[21] The horses' delight in the bit, Hieron's gentleness and expertise, and the reference to the persuasive powers of the driver transmitted through his equipment create a model of harmonious action.[22] The resonance of chariot victory thus

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[17] Carey 1981: 26; Bell 1984: 4; Most 1985: 70–71. Cingano in Gentili et al. 1995: 45 believes that the general temporal clause here (the gods attend Hieron *whenever* he yokes his chariot) implies previous victories, but this is not a necessary conclusion.

[18] Wilamowitz 1922: 286; Race 1997: 230–231, n. 2.

[19] Nicholson 2003: 104–105 asserts that the ode shows Hieron driving his horses and that the entire opening is a complete fiction: Hieron would neither have driven nor trained his horses.

[20] Carey 1981: 26.

[21] For the interpretation here (though not the translation), see Robertson 1960: 803–805. Compounds in *peis-* are usually active, and we are to envisage the charioteer (evoked by the complex of the chariot and chariot platform) controlling the horses. The adjective that applies to the driver has been transferred to the chariot.

[22] Cf. Bell 1984: 3, 7–8, 29 on yoking and binding as expressive of order and regulation, although his focus is on submission to the gods rather than on the political relationship between citizen and ruler.

exists on two levels: the historical level of victory in the games and a metaphorical level where controlling a chariot is a sign of kingly power. This system of imagery will be taken up again at the end of the ode, when Pindar counsels submission to the yoke and the goad (93–96). Conformity to the demands of a superior is conceived as willing acceptance of a yoke, and it forms a paradigm of correct behavior.[23]

After focusing on Hieron's power expressed in literal and metaphorical chariot success, the ode generalizes by returning to the subject of song. Various kings have received hymns from various men as a recompense for their excellence (lines 13–14), and Kinyras and Hieron will exemplify this trend. The summary priamel creates an expectation that it will be capped by a reference to Pindaric song, since the ode is a recompense for the tyrant's deeds of excellence. Instead, it is expanded in somewhat different terms, and Pindar delays his consideration of his own modality of praise until later on in the poem (lines 52–53). The inhabitants of Cyprus celebrate their king with vocabulary that evokes the world of song: their discourse resounds (*keladeonti*, 15).[24] So too the Locrian maiden celebrates Hieron and the verb used (*apuei*, 19) often implies calling on someone as a god (or at least as an authoritative figure). Is choral song in question here? If we think of the Locrian maiden as a collective singer, we might imagine Cypriot or Locrian cult hymns (the approach of Bruno Currie[25]). Yet cult celebration may be too specific an application of the general principle of hymnic praise, and it is preferable to imagine a looser discursive context. The Cypriots may well sing of their king, but they also speak about him and pass on traditions concerning him (a natural implication of *phamai*, line 16), just as in *Pythian* 1.96–98 a "hateful report (*phatis*) constrains Phalaris . . . nor do the lyres of the household admit him in gentle fellowship to the conversations of boys." Here popular tradition (as well as accounts told by chroniclers—*logiois*—in line 94) progresses seamlessly into (lack of) musical commemoration, while the opposite is true for the genial Kroisos. In *Pythian* 3.112–114 we are told that Nestor and Sarpedon are "the talk (*phatis*) of men" and that we know of them "because of the resounding words that wise craftsmen have fitted together." In this instance we are to think of tradition as crystallized in poetic song. All

[23] Lefkowitz 1976: 31.

[24] Most 1985: 73–74 with n. 16; Cingano in Gentili et al. 1995: 370; Currie 2005: 267–268. Woodbury 1978: 294–295 thinks that the language used here fits ill with the notion of song, but Most's parallels seem decisive.

[25] Currie 2005: 284–291 argues that a Locrian female chorus is singing a cult song at a festival of Aphrodite involving religious prostitution, and that (275–276) Kinyras is also the recipient of cult celebration.

three odes set Pindar's performance of praise for Hieron in a more general context of conversation as well as song. The second half of *Pythian* 2 will explore in greater detail how Pindar's words emerge against a background of civic discourse and in contradistinction to a competing poetic tradition (of Archilochus' blame poetry). Pindar suggests a fundamental continuity between civic discourse and poetic production. Royal deeds (in the best-case scenario) call forth a response from subjects, whose informal and formal declarations of gratitude resound. These in turn inspire a poetic treatment (which has the best hope of matching the achievements of the *laudandus*). In such an ideal situation, gratitude spurs the people forward (*agei*, 17) and there is no need for the horse master to discipline or force his charges unwillingly.

The nature of the parallel between Kinyras and Hieron bears further examination. Kinyras is characterized by the same divine favor that Hieron enjoys. He was a favorite of both Apollo and Aphrodite and is described in somewhat obscure terms as the ἱερέα κτίλον Ἀφροδίτας, the "tame priest" or "ram priest" of Aphrodite (line 17). Currie has seen a connection here between Kinyras as ram in myth and possible ram sacrifices on Cyprus,[26] but whether or not this is true, the implications of Pindar's use of *ktilos* also resonate with his broader emphasis on obedience and control within the ode.[27] Indeed, it is worth remembering that the *ktilos* is the ram who leads the herd. In an examination of the cult of Apollo Karneios and its significance for Spartan myths of colonization, Irad Malkin has remarked:

> The ram was the leader of the herd and Apollo Karneios would thus be the leader of the host travelling with the herd. One is also reminded of the Homeric simile of the "lead ram" (κτίλος): "as the herd follows the ram, so their troops follow the leader" [*Il*. 13.492]. This rare word seems to function also as an adjective in the sense of "obedient," "dear to" and it has plausibly been suggested that that the latter is a specification of the former—both having to do with "taming."

Malkin goes on to make a connection with ideas of (colonial) leadership in Sparta: "The *ktilos* is the leader of the herd, obedient to the man who leads him."[28] If this set of associations is active here, Kinyras, and thus Hieron, emerges as an exemplar of sacred leadership of a particular kind: the lead

[26] Currie 2005: 277–281.
[27] Lefkowitz 1976: 15 (who notes that the choice of the translation "ram" for *ktilon* continues the animal imagery of the ode).
[28] Malkin 1994: 153–154.

ram that guides the herd but that is also obedient in turn to a higher power, in this case the divinities Apollo and Aphrodite.[29] As we have seen, Hieron was an hereditary priest of Demeter, and this reinforces the comparison between the two kings; indeed, fr. 105a puns on his name in connection with sacred rites (ζαθέων ἱερῶν ἐπώνυμε). Yet Hieron contrasts with Kinyras as well as paralleling him. Both are wealthy and favored by the gods, but whereas Kinyras is associated with Aphrodite, Hieron is expert in the productive exercise of power and ruler of a warlike city, the precinct of Ares. Kinyras (in some sources) enjoyed an erotic relationship with Aphrodite, and his subservient relationship to her makes him a foil for the sexual aggression of Ixion against Hera that is to come.[30]

The central theme of gratitude and positive reciprocity, introduced by the idea that hymns are the recompense for regal virtue, is developed by the gnome in line 17 ("reverent gratitude leads the way in response, I imagine, to someone's kindly deeds"), which applies both to Kinyras' Cypriot subjects and to humanity more generally. The moral is brought home to Hieron by the mention of the Locrian maiden, who celebrates Hieron's intervention on behalf of the city. We are left in no doubt about the relevant aspect of Hieron's involvement; it is his power, *dynamis*, that creates safety for the city. Civic salvation is focalized through the proclamations of maidens, probably because the Locrians had made a vow to prostitute their daughters if they should be victorious in their conflict with Rhegion (and Anaxilas). Hieron's help had allowed the Locrians and their daughters to avoid this.[31] His association with virgin Artemis (ἰοχέαιρα παρθένος), his patronage of Locrian virgins (Λοκρὶς παρθένος), all this establishes him as an exemplar of restrained power. Unlike the paradigmatic tyrant (and unlike Ixion, whose negative example will soon follow) Hieron's actions are the very opposite of sexually transgressive.[32]

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[29] If it is correct to associate *P*. 2 with the *hyporchema* on the foundation of Aitna (on Dorian principles), the mention of Apollo and the *ktilos* might be significant in terms of Dorian Apollo Karneios as a god of foundation and colonization (for whom see Malkin 1994: 149–158). Luraghi 2011: 39–41 sees sacred kingship as the key to the connection between Kinyras and Hieron.

[30] Most 1985: 73; cf. Bell 1984: 6–7 with n. 18 (privileging the parallels more than the contrast).

[31] Woodbury 1978; cf. Carey 1981: 31. In an ingenious argument Currie 2005: 264–275 suggests that the Locrian vow was in fact fulfilled and that the maidens engaged in sacred prostitution at a temple of Aphrodite (in front of which they sing their cult hymns to Hieron). It is, however, difficult to picture a maiden chorus at a festival of Aphrodite celebrating Hieron's aid in a context of prostitution. Redfield 2003: 411–416 is rightly skeptical about sacred prostitution but speculates that the ode may have been commissioned by the Locrians to warn Hieron against aspiring to a Locrian marriage (again ingenious, but perhaps a bridge too far).

[32] This is not the only example in the early fifth century of rescuing defenseless maidens in the Locrian sphere. The athlete Euthymos of Lokroi (a boxer active in the 480s and 470s) is said to

The first part of the poem thus creates a model for athletic and monarchic victory. The city receives the announcement of the victory of its king and must absorb its implications for civic structure. Hieron's athletic success is a reflection of his military and political power, a power that is exercised not only within the city but abroad: the triad that began with Syracuse ends with a south-Italian city that had moved into Hieron's sphere of influence. The happy Cypriots and Locrian maidens express their gratitude for a divinely supported king, and the Syracusans are encouraged by their example to do the same. As has been noted, the maiden's invocation of Hieron echoes Hieron's invocation of Poseidon in line 12 and creates an ordered hierarchy of benefits and respect linking citizen, monarch, and god.[33] Political, military, and agonistic power are intertwined. Although Pindar often connects athletic victory with war, it would be mistaken to see the collocation in these lines as *merely* conventional.[34] To be sure, Pindar can appeal to the sentiment that "whoever wins luxurious glory in contests or in war receives the highest gain when he is well-spoken of, the peak of speech from both citizens and strangers" (*I.* 1.50–51). The dynamic in *Pythian* 2 is different, however. Hieron wants to be praised by citizens and strangers, but his victories in the games and in war are not contributions to a city where he is one of many. If his citizens praise his chariot success, they are also praising his mastery over them. If they praise his achievements in war, they are praising his control of them. If the Locrian maiden praises him, it is because she is the direct recipient of his salvific might. The historical context reanimates a *topos* and demands its reconfiguration.

Ixion

The myth of Ixion elaborates a complex of themes that will resonate in several of Pindar's odes for Hieron: the paradigm of the great sinner justly

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have rescued a local virgin who was fated to be the sexual prey of the "Hero of Temesa." (Temesa was at this time probably in the Locrian sphere of influence.) On the orders of Pythian Apollo, he was honored with sacrifices during his lifetime and after death. Currie's analysis of this tradition concludes that Euthymos was the earliest historical Greek claimed by an ancient author to have received cult in his lifetime (2002: 25), and speculates that Euthymos may have been active in securing his own cult. If this reconstruction is accurate, it sheds an interesting light on Pindar's choice of examples: at the same time the athlete Euthymos was "saving" a single maiden and engineering a memorializing cult, Hieron is shown having saved all of them, a powerful a fortiori argument for praise.

[33] Most 1985: 75.

[34] For examples, see Young 1971: 39; Carey 1981: 24.

punished for forgetting the distance between gods and mortals.[35] Ixion, Tantalos in *Olympian* 1, and Koronis and Asklepios in *Pythian* 3 all enjoy divine favor but foolishly think they can get away with presuming upon their situation and (in the first three cases) deceive the gods without punishment. Paradoxically, the greatness of the favor shown to them creates the opportunity for delusion and disaster. We can thus see them as perfect negative foils for a tyrant, whose position renders him more than usually vulnerable to attitudes and actions that can bring ruin upon him. Together with Typhon from *Pythian* 1, these mythological figures have an important role to play in Pindar's creation of what we might call a "tyrannical mythology," illustrating the horrors of unrestrained and deluded ambition. The Ixion narrative also evokes a time when the distance between gods and men, though present, was smaller than it subsequently became. It shares with *Olympian* 1 a strong Hesiodic resonance, the purpose of which is to stress the realities of the human condition and warn against rebellion. The pictured mingling of gods and men acknowledges the tyrant's exceptionalism, that he, of all contemporary men, comes closest to a state of blissful association with the gods. Nevertheless, the time when heroic figures consorted with the gods face to face is past, and for good reason, since human nature usually cannot withstand such association. This careful conjuring of lost heroic-divine interaction reinforces the significance of Pindaric song as an important route to bliss, even for a king of acknowledged eminence with aspirations to cult status.

Ixion, the cloud woman, and the centaurs are all difficult to place in the orderly chain of being that runs from gods through humans to animals. This difficulty serves as a negative paradigm for Hieron's tyrannical exceptionalism; his wisdom and control need to find their place in the larger order. We have seen that his association with virgin entities is the positive counterpart of Ixion's sexual aggression. Now we will become aware that his chariot team is the positive counterpart of the bestial centaurs, and that his wisdom and self-awareness, mirrored and presented to him by the poem, contrast with Ixion's deluded rashness. The poem as a whole, as it appropriates and represents a variety of discursive types (fable, blame poetry, oral tradition, previous song, hymns to Kastor), can be measured against the monotonous hum of the gigantic *iunx* on which Ixion eternally repeats the same proverbial wisdom.

Ixion is, then, paradigmatic of tyrannical failings, but he is also an example of a more general human failing, one that applies to subjects as well as

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[35] Duchemin 1970: 84–89; cf. Cingano in Gentili et al. 1995: 49 for the convergence between Tantalos and Ixion.

monarchs: ingratitude. Ixion's ingratitude to his divine benefactor is presented in the first instance as a cautionary tale set in opposition to the grateful praise given to Kinyras and Hieron. Readings of the ode from antiquity to the present have stressed this issue and therefore speculated about the application of the exemplum. Are the male citizens of Lokroi unappreciative? Has Pindar been accused of ingratitude? Or is Hieron the intended target?[36] Rather than engage in biographical historicism, it is more plausible to stress how the myth relates to the poet's (and the subject's) duty to praise and highlights the dangers and temptations inherent in good fortune. This approach is economical with the evidence and avoids historical fantasy; my concern here is to integrate such a treatment with a consideration of how generic themes play out in a particular historical context of monarchical government. Rather than worry about personal slights and jealousies, we should focus on understanding civic and poetic discourse as they react to kingly power.

As the mythical narrative opens, we learn that Ixion, by divine command, exhorts mortals to repay their benefactor. The trajectory of the myth is first sketched so as to bring out its thematic structure (25–30): his happy life with the children of Kronos, his inability to successfully process this bliss, his hubristic passion for Hera, and his exemplary punishment. The narrative then expands. We learn in passing of his first crime: he deceitfully killed his father-in-law in order to avoid paying the bride price (after which, although this detail is not included, he was purified of guilt and madness by Zeus and allowed to live with the gods).[37] His second crime, the attempted rape of Hera, led to his own woe and the creation of the centaurs, but before we consider this in detail we should pause to consider the importance of the circulation of speech and song, as previously presented in the examples of Kinyras' subjects and the Locrian maiden, and now foregrounded once again. The gods have commanded Ixion to speak as his wheel whirls around, and he speaks a Pindaric gnome (to repay one's benefactor). Divinely mandated speech thus merges with poetic voice as the song is performed.[38] Pindar's voice itself reports the consensus of prior

[36] Carey 1981: 32; cf. Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: l–lii.

[37] Schol. *P.* 2.40b; Gantz 1993: 718–720; Carey 1981: 35. The scholiast on Homer *Od.* 21.303 reports a suggestive version of Ixion's crime on Olympos: when Hera first reported Ixion's mad lust to Zeus, he suspected her of *slandering* Ixion (in this case, his son) and created the cloud woman as a way of testing Ixion's guilt. Note too that Pindar has transferred Ixion's madness from the part of the myth he does not tell to the part that he does. In line 26 the poet reports that Ixion desired Hera with "maddened wits" (μαινομέναις φρασίν), thus making madness the consequence of the inability to withstand good fortune.

[38] See Hubbard 1986: 57 for the correspondence between Ixion's and Pindar's "announcement" (*aggelia*, 4, 41).

reports: "They say that Ixion says. . . ." Ixion's speech, ventriloquized through the voices of the past, draws the moral of the first part of the ode; the poet, the gods, and traditional narratives speak with one voice. His punishment, moreover, ensures that the lesson he learned has an infinite extension in time: he repeats the moral continuously and forever. The gnome thus forms a conceptual undertone in the song, so that correct discourse is always in the background.

Just as we receive the lesson and the immediate reassurance that the lesson has been learned ("He learned this lesson clearly," 25) as the myth opens, so a second gnome, along with its immediate application, opens the elaboration of the story: "One must always observe the measure of every affair according to one's own status, and unsanctioned sexual acts hurl the offender into intense misery" (34–36). Now we learn how Ixion's attempt on Hera was frustrated by Zeus' creation of an image made of cloud. The story of Ixion proper comes to an end at line 41, as the reference to Ixion's "announcement" closes the ring that opened in line 21, but it is followed by an account of the monstrous child born from the union of Ixion and the cloud woman, its intercourse with the mares of Magnesia, and the engendering of the race of centaurs.

This narrative is governed by the importance of "knowing one's place." Like the other great sinners in the odes for Hieron, Ixion has committed a category error. Tantalos in *Olympian* 1 enjoys reciprocal dining privileges with the gods but attempts to give their food to his friends. Koronis in *Pythian* 3 is unfaithful to Apollo although pregnant with his child (another sexual transgression), and Asklepios in the same poem attempts to bring back a mortal from the dead. The monstrous Typhon in *Pythian* 1 is the enemy of the gods and is punished for his rebellion.[39] The extraordinary favors given to the mortal players by the gods in these scenarios make them forget their own mortal status and think that they can deceive their superiors. The general lesson, of course, is that success can lead to arrogance and downfall, and it would be at home in any epinician. Ixion's case is, however, characterized by special circumstances. We note first that crime, even crime against kin, does not necessarily disqualify one from divine favor, which can be bestowed on unlikely candidates.[40] The happiness caused by this treatment results in a blurring of the boundaries that usually separate

[39] Cf. Gildersleeve 1890: 253–254 (but arguing that Hieron is "a manner of Zeus").

[40] Ixion's case reverses, in some respects, that of Peleus in *Nemean* 5. Peleus went into exile after murdering his half brother and was received in the house of Akastos, whose wife attempted to seduce him. He refused because of his reverence for Zeus. She then accused him of attempted rape. Because of his piety Peleus received a divine marriage, to Thetis. Here, divine favor and a divine

mortals from the gods. Like Tantalos, the recipient of divine honor mingles with the gods; Ixion seems actually to live with them and wander around Olympos unattended.[41] Yet this extraordinary bliss cannot be sustained, and when Ixion sins through his overweening pride, not only his second crime but also his first receive their due meed of punishment. The gods, then, are capable of forgiving and purifying an individual, but capable also of withdrawing that absolution and making him pay for his acts at a later time. Favor based on forgiveness of past acts is only conditional and cannot be regarded as a carte blanche. We may see here a lesson of particular application for an early-fifth-century tyrant, who would without doubt have lived a life involving acts of greater-than-usual cruelty and deceit. Of such a man it would be impossible to say that he lived quietly always respecting his fellow citizens. The good news of the Ixion paradigm is that the gods are prepared to overlook such actions and still bestow greater-than-usual happiness. The bad news is that if the recipient does not realize his place, punishment can still come with interest—even more so since the favor has allowed him access to greater realms and deeds, both for good and for ill.[42]

The myth is tailored to an extraordinary individual, and its interest comes not in its application to single deeds of Hieron's life (such as the possibility of his lusting after his brother's wife[43]) but in its overall structure as a tale apt for a man of power. We have already observed that later texts stress how the tyrant is prone to unusual lusts and to the slaughter even of his closest kin. Nothing is sacred to him. If it is correct that the development of the Ixion story was particularly associated with Italy and that it may have been introduced into the literature of the mainland by Pindar and Aeschylus through their associations with Hieron's court, this would be an interesting example of the elaboration of a "tyrannical" mythology in the early fifth century.[44] Prosperity for a tyrant is so extreme that it becomes a force that needs to be sustained or resisted; only the truly exceptional will be able to do so, and this will involve skills that are political as well as ethical. In the case of failure, the pain will correspond to the prior success. Ixion's woe is *exaireton* (30), "picked out" or "exceptional," just like himself and his previous success. Even the exceptional man must

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marriage is the reward for piety and the refusal of rape; with Ixion, divine favor is no reward but an egregious act of partiality and leads to attempted rape and a bad end.

[41] Cf. Crotty 1980: 5–8; Bell 1984: 9.

[42] Cf. Morgan 2008: 35–40.

[43] See Most 1985: 40–41 for Boeckh's allegorization of the myth along these lines.

[44] Most 1985: 77 n. 30.

know how to measure his status, and being higher than most men does not mean that one is equal to the gods.

The narrative as a whole explores the transgression of boundaries that normally separate gods from men and men from beasts. Permeable boundaries of this type result in situations characterized by a hybrid status, at first for good as Ixion lives with the gods, and then for ill. Ixion's desire to lie with a goddess, thwarted by Zeus' omniscience, results in intimate congress with a being that enjoys only a quasi-reality; we may wonder how he manages to have sex at all, let alone engender a child. The child Kentauros, moreover, cannot fit into any kind of society, human or divine, and it perpetuates sexual transgression through bestiality with the mares of Magnesia (43–46). The products are monstrous hybrids, neither man nor animal, famous for the hubris that destroyed them and for their powerful and unconstrained lust.[45] They too are a powerful expression of status hybridity, illustrating the dangers of stepping outside one's proper sphere. None will ever be accommodated in human life. Transgressive sexuality, a particular danger for a tyrant, is merely symptomatic of larger ills; the tyrannical character, in a worst-case scenario, puts itself beyond the bounds of society.

Such disaster is to be avoided by an awareness of one's position. This is a salutary skill in any situation and is thus useful political wisdom for all audiences of the ode. Pindar will return at its end to a related idea, that a straight-talking man will succeed under any set of political institutions (86–88). If Kentauros and the centaurs fit nowhere, the honest man finds a place everywhere. The connection is awareness of how societies differ and that there are principles of conduct that will ensure safety whether one consorts with the gods, or lives under a tyranny or a democracy. Lack of jealousy and immoderate desires is the principle in question, and its positive counterparts are reciprocity and gratitude. So it is that Ixion functions as a perfect negative paradigm for both Hieron and Hieron's subjects, since Hieron and his subjects are in a relationship proportional to that between Hieron and the gods.[46] Both are the objects of great benefaction from superiors but must not presume on the relationship. By focusing on Hieron's success as the superior in the human sphere in exercising power and receiving appropriate gratitude, the poet implies that Hieron will also be a successful participant in the relationship between exceptionally

[45] Cf. Theognis 1.542, where they are also "eaters of raw flesh" and thus transgress human dietary codes.

[46] For the proportional relationship, see Most 1985: 72, 75–76.

favored humans and the gods. The negative exemplum is thus a monument to poetic subtlety as it parades the poet's boldness in warning a powerful man of the dangers of success and simultaneously implies that Hieron has already learned the lesson, in light of the evidence of his prior actions.

A few words must be said concerning the link between the horses that open the ode and the centaurs of the Ixion narrative. One reading of this connection sees it as a rebuke to Hieron (who has betrayed Pindar by choosing Bacchylides to celebrate the chariot victory of 468—this on a late dating of the ode). The celebration of the city's strength in cavalry, as well as the later reference to Hieron's cavalry battles (65), takes on grim connotations once we meditate on the centaurs. We are given the poet's "view of the direction in which Hieron's kingdom is heading."[47] Dating issues aside, it seems perverse to insist that the relationship between Syracuse and the centaurs is one of identity rather than contrast. We have already noted how the characterization of Syracuse as nurse of men and horse is mapped onto Hieron's presentation as a successful charioteer (together with the political resonances of this association). How do the centaurs fit into this picture? As hybrids that operate outside the bounds of society, they invert the opening picture of a flourishing city governed by a righteous lord. Whereas the rule of Hieron encompasses the skills of a charioteer to unite the Syracusans and their horses, the centaurs embody disordered lusts and motions.[48] Both Syracuse and the centaurs are composite entities, but the latter are monstrous, while the former showcases uniquely human skills: the (literal and metaphorical) assemblage of bridle, bit, reins, and chariot and the expertise that allows their constructive deployment.

Ixion's sweet life with the children of Kronos and his subsequent fall from grace might remind us of the initially unproblematic existence of mankind as narrated in Hesiod's *Theogony* (535–613, an episode that will be important for the interpretation of *Olympian* 1). There was a time before gods and men were "divided" at Mekone, when they ate together and when woman did not exist. This changed when Prometheus attempted to deceive Zeus over the division of the first sacrifice; mankind was punished by being deprived of fire, and, when Prometheus stole it back, by the creation of Pandora to be a "beautiful evil" (καλὸν κακὸν, 585). Although Pandora has the likeness of a modest maiden, she has an evil nature and is "sheer deception" (589). In

[47] Gantz 1978: 23–24.

[48] Bell 1984: 3, 10–12 ("In the punishment of Ixion, the horse-and-chariot of Hieron's success, divinely granted, are symbolically refracted, and separated from one another, as marks now of divine displeasure," 10).

Works and Days, Epimetheus is warned never to accept a gift from the gods, but he does so anyway: "when he received the evil and possessed it, he recognized it" (89). In both the Pandora and the Ixion story, woe and then punishment comes through a trick devised by Zeus in the shape of a female who seems to be one thing but is in fact another (a "beautiful evil" in the case of Pandora, and a "beautiful woe" in the case of the cloud woman).[49] Ixion and Epimetheus both recognize their evil only once they have it, and in both cases, what is at stake is the separation of men from gods and the recognition of one's proper place in the cosmos. The Hesiodic resonance lends an air of foundation to the story of Ixion, as the narrative elements of the latter recapitulate themes of divine favor followed by separation and punishment. Where the Ixion narrative differs from Hesiod is in the products of transgression. In Hesiod, the arrival of Pandora begins a life of toil for mankind of a sort familiar to all; she initiates "business as usual." In Pindar the effects are restricted to the egregiously privileged. This is why the tyrant is limited to the mortal world, even if the gods lay a hand on his chariot.

Before leaving Ixion, let us return to his revolving wheel and the implications of this technology for the rest of the ode. Human skills may of course be deployed to laudable or sinister ends; in the latter instance they have, the poem suggests, a habit of recoiling on those who use them. Such will be the case with the depraved and jealous manipulators of language in the second half of the ode. Such is also the case with Ixion, whose plans to use a *iunx* charm on Hera backfire. At lines 40–41 we learn that he "fashioned the four-limbed bondage to be his own destruction." Most commentators have seen here a reference to the *iunx*, the instrument of magic that was meant to secure the submission of the object of love, while a minority view denies the use of the *iunx* in *Pythian* 2 and argues instead that Ixion's wheel is "a stationary frame for torture" on which a victim was stretched and twisted.[50] Two points militate against such an interpretation. First, we know from line 23 that the wheel is indeed revolving ("on his winged wheel as he rolls along everywhere") and second, Ixion made the "binding" that was his doom, an action that makes sense only if he intended it for some purpose other than his subsequent torture. Like the jealous at the end of the ode who pull the measuring line too tight and wound themselves, he intends a technology for one purpose but achieves another. What begins as a technique for erotic mastery becomes his own pain, as the *iunx*

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[49] The parallel with the Pandora episode is pointed out in the scholion to *P*. 2.72 but receives a fuller treatment in Bell 1984: 10 with n. 27; Most 1985: 82–83.

[50] Gildersleeve 1890: 260; Bell 1984: 11. Stationary torture: Faraone 1993–94: 12–14.

is transformed into an instrument of torture. Ixion is indeed racked on a wheel, but he also merges with the charm to become an exemplary sinner who now sings a different tune. I concluded earlier that his eternally repeated gnome forms a conceptual undertone to the ode. We can now see that this undertone can be identified with a transformed *iunx* magic. The *iunx* toy that we know of from the Hellenistic and later periods was a wheel on a twisted cord that emitted a humming sound thought to be intoxicating.[51] For present purposes, the connection of the *iunx* with a mesmerizing humming sound is suggestive. It anticipates the low murmurs of slanderers to be encountered at line 76, slanderers who are not content with the divine dispensation. Ixion's sonic technology then, will be associated with the devices of the jealous and of slanderers.[52] Divine punishment, however, has changed the evil-intentioned hum into one that resounds with a more appropriate sentiment: gratitude toward superior benefactors.

Safe Praise

The first half of the ode has taken us from poetic celebrations of victory, through civic commemoration, to emblematic mythical speech. The second half will elaborate further the appropriate functions of poetic discourse and will generalize the rules of appropriate speech so that the audience can be in no doubt that Pindar's praise has not censored itself for a particular constitutional situation. The meditations on divine power and poetic duty in these lines create a complex series of relationships involving the gods, the great man, the poet, and the public as authorizers, achievers, and receivers of success. For mortals it is essential to have the wisdom to deal with success (absent in Ixion, but present in the poet and Hieron) and to grasp its function in the order of the world. Wisdom in knowing one's place results in correct (and therefore safe) judgments, and these are in turn manifested in effective speech and action and in suitable reception of the speech and actions of others.

We start with the blunt assertion of divine power that stresses the effectiveness of divine activity. For the gods, there is no gap between imagination and fulfillment such as characterized the actions of Ixion. God overtakes both the eagle and the dolphin in their respective elements, and the reminder of speed

[51] Johnston 1995: 180–183.

[52] Cf. the persuasive arguments of Johnston (1995: 198–200) on Jason's use of the *iunx* in *Pythian* 4 as a tool of deception.

and overtaking returns us to the realm of the chariot race. The implication is that that the gods can easily overtake the human chariot victor, although when we move from animals to humans, divine agency no longer operates in the realm of physical speed but instead has an ethical focus: "he bends down a mortal who has lofty thoughts, while to others he gives ageless fame" (51–52). As we have just learned, for mortals it is motivation and respect toward the divine that is important, and the gods may accordingly humble the haughty or glorify others. Hieron's success is thus, again, marked as a result of divine favor and an appropriate attitude. It therefore demands a proper response from the poet, who is spurred to meditate on his task. He must "flee the close bite of evil speeches."[53] The animal imagery of the poem here takes on a further dimension. We have already encountered the positive image of the harmonized chariot team that figures the concord of the Syracusans, as well as its negative counterpart, the centaurs. Evil speech is now presented as a kind of animal that can bite, in keeping with ancient associations of invective with dogs and birds of prey.[54]

Pindar implies primarily that he must not be a biter himself, tainted by hatred and envy, but also that he wants to avoid being the object of bad speech. Speaking and being spoken of are reciprocal actions (as we saw with Ixion); the poet is aware that his praise will be evaluated by a wide audience.[55] He contrasts himself with the blame poet Archilochus, "fattening himself on heavy-speaking hatreds, for the most part in helplessness" (54–56). Archilochus' helplessness corresponds to the *akerdeia* (profitlessness) that is the lot of bad-speakers in *Olympian* 1.53.[56] The profit and loss is both financially concrete (the praise singer will receive gifts, entertainment, and perhaps commissions) and metaphorical (the poet desires the credit of a good reputation, as well as an abundance of poetic inventiveness).[57] The iambic poet, however, will never be full but instead characterized by material and poetic poverty.[58] The result of the correct attitude

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[53] My analysis of this part of the poem is based on Morgan 2008.
[54] Steiner 2002: 301.
[55] Burton 1962: 119 argues that the run of the passage requires that "fleeing the bite" refer only to avoiding being a slanderer oneself (cf. the similar argument of Most 1985: 88).
[56] Mackie 2003: 13. For the implications of Archilochus' "fattening," see Brown 2006.
[57] For good reputation, see Kurke 1991: 228–239. Cingano in Gentili et al. 1995: 386 opts for "material poverty" as the sense of *amachania* here, both because of ancient anecdotes on the poverty of Archilochus and in order to establish a correlation between praise and wealth, as opposed to blame and poverty. Yet nothing prevents further metaphorical resonance, which is demanded by the larger context of the poem (Gerber 1960: 101; Miller 1981: 139–140; Most 1985: 90; Steiner 2002: 305).
[58] Bulman 1992: 12–13.

is discursive effectiveness, and the scope of this effectiveness should be conceived in broad terms. It ranges from free and honest political speech to sincere praise, and to the honor and preferment (and financial rewards) that arise from both. So it is that Pindar goes on to conclude that being "rich in wisdom by the dispensation of fate" is best. Despite scholarly reservations about whether it is good Greek to speak of being "rich in wisdom" at this period, this concept fits perfectly with the conceptual structure of the poem.[59] Wealth and prosperity by themselves are, evidently, no guarantee of continued success, but prosperity associated with correct judgment has a much greater chance of enduring. Not all are wealthy. Not all are wise. But when a man—or a king—is fortunate enough to combine both, he has resources indeed. There is a direct line from Archilochus' lack of resource through Pindar's poetic wealth to Hieron's superior judgment and prosperity. The key is one's attitude toward success. Arrogance on the part of the fortunate will bring them down at the hand of the gods, while those who comment on this fortune must likewise keep in mind that success is god-given and subject to vicissitude. Wisdom is needed by poets and commentators as well as kings and victors.

The direct praise of Hieron's fortune that follows directly afterward confirms that the wisdom is his as well as the poet's.[60] Because he is rich in possessions and in wisdom, he can manifest his success with a "liberal spirit."[61] Both poet and king are unconstrained because they accept the overarching constraint of subjection to the gods; by accepting their place they acquire the opportunity to speak and act freely. Hieron is now praised as lord of many garlanded streets and the host that inhabits them and is distinguished by a superlative vaunt: no previous Greek has exceeded him in possessions and honor. The form of Pindar's vaunt is notable: not a straight declaration but a conditional construction that foregrounds the problem of the standard of judgment. *If* anyone says that a previous Greek has surpassed Hieron, "he wrestles with vain thoughts in his empty wit" (58–61). We can admire the rhetorical adroitness with which the rejection of blame poetry in the previous stanza has now been transformed into the rejection of anyone who does not join in superlative praise; the vain

[59] I adopt here the interpretation of Péron 1974 (against the objections of Gerber 1960: 103–105; and Carey 1981: 44). Henry 2000 concludes that the passage means rather that accepting the wealth that fortune brings is the best part of wisdom. This emphasis on one's attitude to wealth is surely right, but perhaps it underestimates the connection between mental skill/attitude and the perpetuation of success.

[60] Carey 1981: 45.

[61] Most 1985: 92–93.

invectives of Archilochus become the empty judgments of those who do not rank Hieron first. The continued focus on judgment (which will persist in the last triad) is focalized through the unspecified "someone" of line 58, which reminds us that we are dealing not just with poetic reception but with popular reception as well. Pindar, having just asserted his credentials as a poet of praise, has now created a position from which he can sum up his eulogy of Hieron in lines 62–67. This summation will, unsurprisingly, again stress the balance between judgment and action.

The return to formal poetic praise fulfills an expectation set up in the first triad. The priamel (lines 13–20) that started by referring to hymns in honor of kings then delayed focusing on Pindaric praise in order to include broader examples of civic praise: the resounding declarations (*keladeonti*, 15) of the Cypriots and the Locrian maiden. These paradigms of positive speech and gratitude then evoked Ixion as foil. A consideration of Ixion's category errors and their consequences led to reflection on divine power and the proper reaction to it on the part of poets and other mortals, finally arriving at the poet in line 52 ("But I must flee . . .") Now, after focalizing possible responses to Hieron through "someone" who "says" (corresponding to the discourses of, e.g., the Cypriots) we reach a climax with the resounding poetic declaration of Pindar (*keladeōn*, 63).[62] Poetic and popular discourse interpenetrate and are interdependent.

The poet's praise is figured as embarkation on a garlanded ship, recalling the garlands Hieron bound to Ortygia in line 6 and the garlanded streets of Syracuse in line 58. Its focus is Hieron's excellence, divided into two categories: warlike deeds and mature counsels. In the case of the former, boldness is a help to youth, and as a result Hieron has won "boundless glory" in both cavalry and infantry battles. But what makes Pindar's praise safe is Hieron's wisdom; his judgments are mature, and they allow the poet to praise him "with a riskless utterance on every account" (65–67). There is an implicit contrast here with those who engage in slander (to whom the poet will return in the final triad), and we should also note the comprehensiveness of "on every account," a phrase that suggests Pindar's universalizing aspirations for his discourse: his poem sums up, replaces, and appropriates other attempts at comment.[63] The "riskless utterance" emphasizes the precise fit between praise and *laudandus* and therefore proclaims

[62] Most 1985: 94 notes the echoes that connect the praise here with that of the Cypriots but is less concerned with the relationship between poetic and popular praise.
[63] Carey 1981: 46; cf. Most 1985: 94–95.

Pindar's own victory over poetic risk.[64] Pindar's praise is without danger because it is true; he does not run the risk of being proved a toady or an exaggerator. He is safe, then, from the point of view of the general audience. There is, of course, another audience also: Hieron himself. Speech to a monarch is never without risk given the potential unreliability of his reactions. Yet because Hieron has attained wisdom, Pindar need not worry about reception on this front either. The notion of safety also recalls for us the arena of military and civic risk and security. At the beginning of the poem, the Locrian maiden praises Hieron since, because of his power, she can now "look around in safety." The nature of Hieron's intervention on behalf of Epizephyrian Lokroi is unclear, but it seems likely to have been some combination of diplomacy and military threat, precisely the qualities celebrated in the current passage. Hieron has enjoyed, Pindar declares, success both in battle and in judgment. This is what has ensured civic safety for the Locrian maiden and poetic safety for Pindar. Military and poetic security map onto one another.

In all this praise, there has been no return to the topic of agonistic victory. The early evocation of Syracuse as nurse of men and horses had led to the announcement of Hieron's chariot triumph (although mastery of the chariot was itself, I argued, a figure for political control). Now Hieron is celebrated for wealth, lordship, honor, wisdom, and military conquest, but not for victory in the games. This reinforces the possibility that the victory that is the ostensible occasion for the ode may not have been at a major contest; it is the springboard, rather than the focus, of the poem. What is most crucially at stake is reception of preeminence, chiefly in a civic context. Syracuse receives Pindar's song (with all its implications), the Cypriots perpetuate the traditions about Kinyras, the Locrians their appreciation of Hieron. Ixion, the negative paradigm, failed to acknowledge the superiority of the gods and thus became the originator of his own gnomic tradition. The poet, and other contemporaries, process and reissue Hieron's achievements. Yet the object of praise must also react to and evaluate his own status. Ixion failed in this exercise, but the praise of Hieron's intellect leads us to expect that he will not. The final part of the poem will be devoted to modeling the proper dynamic of regal judgment and the complex discursive situations with which it must contend.

Before this concluding section on the proper reaction to deceit and slander, however, Pindar formally greets Hieron in terms that have caused considerable interpretative difficulties. After proclaiming the

[64] Cf. *N*. 8.21, where the envious again make an appearance, and Burton 1962: 121.

safety of his praise, he says, "Hail" (*chaire*, 67). This can be a formula either of greeting or farewell. If the latter, then one might have expected it to introduce a short conclusion, not, as it does, an additional triad. The conceit would then be that Pindar is overcome by the abundance of his material and carries on his song despite himself. If "Hail" is a greeting, then it marks a new beginning.[65] Glenn Most has also made the important observation that the best parallels for the use of "Hail" in this passage are to be found in hymns to divinities. The greeting thus "contribute[s] to the praise of the victor by associating the language used for him with that employed for the gods."[66] The matter is further complicated by the possibility that the song that is sent like Phoenician merchandise over the sea (67–68) is not the same as the Kastor-song of hippic victory (*kastoreion*) mentioned in lines 69–70 but that the latter refers to the *hyporchema* (fr. 105) discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The *men... de* construction of lines 68–69 might distinguish "this song" from the additional Kastor-song, or the last portion of the ode from what has gone before, or it might create a contrast between dispatch and reception of the current poem.[67] It seems to me preferable to opt for a solution that does not distract from the issues on which Pindar is currently focusing. A glance toward the potential reception of the *hyporchema* makes Pindar's imperative almost parenthetical. But if the Kastor-song is not a separate poem, what is it?

It may be helpful to see the *kastoreion* as one of the musical forms that Pindar is subsuming. We have already seen how *Pythian* 2 appropriates and supersedes other forms of hymnic praise and more general civic discourse. The Kastor-song is the latest in this series of appropriations. Not only is it suitable for a song about hippic victory and control, but it may also provide another military resonance. We learn from the scholia (ad 127) that the *kastoreion* was a "rhythm" played on pipes as the Spartans used to march into battle.[68] If this resonance is present, we may have an example of Pindar's reference to the merging of pipe and lyre in the accompaniment to his odes, since the *kastoreion* is being played "on Aeolian [lyre]

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[65] Burton 1962: 121–122; Carey 1981: 47.

[66] For the hymnic interpretation, see Most 1985: 96–101 (quote at 97–98), building on the observation of Oates 1963: 382.

[67] For the first possibility see the scholia on the passage, Wilamowitz (1901: 1311–1312), Burton 1962: 122–123, Gentili 1992, and Cingano in Gentili et al. 1995: 391–392. For the Kastor-song as *P*. 2 itself, see Carey 1981: 47–48; Most 1985: 99–101. Bell 1984: 15 points out that the *kastoreion*, as a horseman's ode, fits well with the ode's focus on control over horses.

[68] Cf. Gentili 1992: 54.

strings."[69] He foregrounds the *kastoreion* because of the military context of the lines; he has just talked about the glory Hieron has won in cavalry and infantry battles. The relevance of the Kastor-song is almost overdetermined, just as Hieron's triumph is overdetermined: victory in war and at the games. It takes its place as a component in the discursive kaleidoscope of the ode. At the same time, the song is also like Phoenician merchandise (line 67). The Phoenicians were of course famous as traders in the ancient world, but their mention here may be pointed. Deinomenid victories over the Phoenicians in Sicily were part of the recent past (and there were more to follow). Focusing here on merchandise may signal a return to business as usual in the wake of the battles mentioned in the previous lines.

The section of the ode following the myth of Ixion has explored the reception of Hieron by a wider public in ways that also have implications for Hieron himself. It has consolidated the move from city to victor that occurred in the first triad. There, the poet announced Hieron's victory to the city as a victory for the city, although with the second-person-singular address of line 18 the focus soon switched from the city to its master. Now Hieron's own reception of what is said and sung about him comes to the fore. He receives the ode and is asked in quasi-hymnic terms to look on it with favor. Not only does his power and judgment ensure the safety of Pindar's praise, but it makes Hieron an expert judge of its merits. He is his own best audience.

Problems of Slander

The final section of the poem, set off from what has come before by the greeting to Hieron, continues the consideration of correct judgment, deceitful or slanderous speech, flattery, and straight speaking, before ending with the poet's desire to associate with the "good." The wisdom of Rhadamanthys (one of the judges of the dead) is first set against the foolishness of children who think an ape is beautiful. This leads to condemnation of foxlike whisperers and slanderers who aim ineffectively at profit and are contrasted to the poet, who likens himself to a cork on a net. Deceitful and fawning citizens are also contrasted with the straightforward poet, who is friendly to friends, but wolflike toward his enemies. Whatever the constitution, in fact, the straight talker is the one who succeeds. For all this, we are reminded, the gods are still supreme, giving fame and failure as they please.

[69] See Prauscello 2012: 66 for "the frequent pairing of aulos and kithara in the instrumental accompaniment of his epinicians."

This element of instability should, but fails to, mollify the jealous, who thus succeed in hurting only themselves. Since it is pointless to struggle against superior power, the only solution is to converse with the good.

I shall return later to the quality of the "personal" voice here. The first task is to explore the nature of the community of civic discourse set forth in these lines. This community is assembled as the song moves from the individuality of Hieron, through the mediating voice of the poet, to the various categories of people who interact with him (including the poet). The springboard is the request issued to Hieron to "learn what kind of man you are and show yourself to be so" (72). Again Pindar stresses Hieron's mental and ethical talents; Hieron, as the previous praise has shown, is already a certain sort of man. All he need do is continue to manifest this in his actions,[70] and Pindar can help with this since the source of the king's "learning" is the ode itself, which crystallizes Hieron's own knowledge. One advantage, then, of a Pindaric ode as opposed to less elaborate expressions of praise by such as the Locrian maiden is that it theorizes principles of action and sets them in the broadest context, thus enabling Hieron to know himself as both a local and a panhellenic figure.[71] This also explains the perplexingly reflexive character of Pindar's request as the king must show himself to be himself and find the perspective to be his own audience. Seeing himself through the mirror of others will, as the next stanzas show, involve expert assessment of the dynamics of hostility and friendship within the city and the wider world.

We start with a transposition of the problem of judgment onto the level of quasi-fable. In the eyes of children, an ape is always beautiful (lines 72–73). The nature of the comparison here is difficult to determine. Most have concluded that the children lack the discrimination to realize that the ape is ugly and are instead delighted and amused by its behavior.[72] In this case, the children are the negative paradigm for Hieron, who must reject the flattery of insincere courtiers (and presumably poets). An intriguing alternate possibility sees the ape as the negative paradigm for the king, based on the Aesopic fable where an ape is elected king by the other animals but is envied and trapped by the crafty fox, who taunts him for believing he

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[70] Péron 1974: 19–30; Most 1985: 102–104.

[71] For the Delphic resonance here, see Woodbury 1945: 20; Thummer 1972: 295; Brillante 2000: 105. Schol. *P*. 2. 63 also makes a Delphic connection at line 34.

[72] See Carey 1981: 53–54; Most 1985: 104–105; and Hubbard 1990 (who disagrees with the consensus) for the range of interpretations to which this passage has given rise. Burton 1962: 127 sees a reference to Hieron's secret police, who would collect evidence of subversion within the city, which was then whispered into Hieron's ear by the "toadies who pullulate at every tyrant's court" (wonderful phrase!). These toadies are the pet courtiers of the king and are like the ape.

could be king when he has such an ugly bottom. On this reading, the ape is "the un-self-knowing king who is the foolish dupe of flatterers."[73] Much depends on how immediately one thinks the fable should inform the ode. If the ape is the dupe, then we have an attractive sequence wherein Hieron is told to be aware of his nature, unlike the ape, and is favorably compared with the flawless judge, Rhadamanthys, in the next lines. Yet it is far from clear that the children in this passage are to be regarded as flatterers; the emphasis seems rather to be on their lack of judgment (one wonders, too, whether an ape deluded by deceitful flatterers is an appropriate comparison for Hieron). On the whole, then, it is preferable to see the children as foil to the king, whose mind is, we have been shown, by no means childish.[74] He is, then, like Rhadamanthys, the fruit of whose wits is "blameless" (74), an adjective that underlines the distance between Archilochean and Pindaric poetics. As an object of emulation Rhadamanthys is in a fortunate position; unlike contemporaries, he is beyond the reach of blame and invective; nor could he ever be in a position where he might make a false assessment. Earthly kings do not have it so easy, and although they may aspire to Rhadamanthian standards, they are embedded in an imperfect system where they judge and are judged in turn and where imperfections may result in deception by self and others.

These final stanzas project a community of the good and a community of the deceitful, the one characterized by effective and the other by ineffective speech. Both come together in the political community over which Hieron presides, and for which Pindar (in part) composes. One must, moreover, keep in mind the wider Greek world in front of which this discursive drama is played, and which is encouraged to accept the lessons Pindar draws from the situation. The discursive communities of the good and the deceitful are rooted in individual cities, but they also transcend them. The transcendence of the individual polis (in this case, Syracuse) and the embedding of Hieron's issues with slander and deceit within a larger context is an important goal. It is achieved by tying the poetic to the political: the poet recommends and also exemplifies effective (that is, sincere, open, and straightforward) speech. His judgments both approve Hieron and model the reactions that Hieron should/does have. By exploring these issues and associating Hieron and himself as successful judges, Pindar can make implicit claims for the legitimacy of Hieron's own words of power.

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[73] Hubbard 1990: 76–77.

[74] So Carey 1981: 54; Cingano in Gentili et al. 1995: 394.

Rhadamanthys helps to make the transition between kingly judgments and the activities of the deceitful. When he refuses to delight in deception, this means both that he cannot be fooled and that, unlike Archilochus, he takes no pleasure in perpetrating unjust rulings or accepting the slanders of others. He is, as it were, both a good king and a good poet. In the nonmythical world, however, deceptive speech resulting from the "contrivances of whisperers" is always attendant on mortal life (75). This brings us to the issue of slanderers and a move from the world of internal judgments to the external network of human relationships. Slanderous suggestions are "an unconquerable evil" for "both" (that is, both the slandered and those who listen to slander[75]). How, then, to deal them? One answer is that, like Rhadamanthys, we should not engage with them; if they cannot be fought, they must be marginalized. Here is a place where boldness in battle is misplaced. The result is then that these foxlike operators fail to make any profit out of their activities. The witness for the success of this strategy is the poet himself, who bobs on the surface of the sea (of slander) like a cork on the top of a net. His open and public activities, as Most has observed, contrast with the hidden endeavors of the slanderers.[76] The lesson is then repeated at the beginning of the antistrophe in overtly political terms. The deceitful citizen cannot utter speech that has any power (ἔπος . . . κραταιὸν, 81) among the good. His efforts to flatter and deceive only increase his delusion and his sure destruction (to be compared with Ixion's). Again this conclusion is guaranteed by a first-person statement: "I do not share his boldness: my prayer is to love my friend but as an enemy, I shall attack my enemy like a wolf" (83–84). Good and bad reciprocity depend on variation in circumstances, on whether one is a friend or an enemy.

Some things, however, are invariant, notably the superior achievement of the straight-talking man, which operates in every constitutional circumstance: "in a tyranny, when the boisterous host [rules], and when the wise watch over the city" (86–87). This striking formulation not only reinforces the victory of the values of praise poetry but restates the political focus of the stanza. Note that tyranny is not qualified by any adjective, indicating perhaps that autocracy is inherently a neutral force, one that takes on qualities according to how it is exercised. Hieron's tyranny, as we have seen,

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[75] Carey 1981: 55–56; Most 1985: 107, with references to previous scholarship; Cingano in Gentili et al. 1995: 396. Yet we should not dismiss the possibility that slanderers themselves come into question here, since the ode teaches us elsewhere that evil redounds upon the head of its authors and reduces them to resourcelessness. The roles of speaking and being spoken of are closely related to one another.

[76] Most 1985: 108–110.

is characterized by sound judgment. The second option is rule by the host, a collective that Pindar describes as boisterous, turbulent (*labros*). This word is used by Homer to describe forces of nature that escape control and similarly by Pindar, most memorably in *Olympian* 2.86 to describe the crows who screech in vain against the eagle of Zeus (associated with both poet and victor). The adjective brings with it, then, notions of lack of control and judgment that indicate government by the host is not a preferred option.[77] Only government by the "wise" (presumably an oligarchy, though we need not rule out a reference to wise autocracy) receives the positive endorsement of a favorable verb *and* subject.[78] We should remember also that twenty-eight lines earlier, Hieron was named the "authoritative lord" of the "host" in a passage of praise that went on to talk about his wise counsels, and that he has been described in terms emphasizing his gentle control over natural forces (the chariot of the first triad).[79] It may well be that the straight talker excels everywhere, but there is little doubt that the dynamics of the description of the three types of government here implicitly privileges the achievements of Hieron.[80] After all, if we say that a man whose speech is straight excels under every constitution, this means not only that the discourse of the good is always triumphant but also that, if Hieron is dominant in Syracuse, his speech is straight. Most important in these lines, however, is the widening of the constitutional spectrum. The power of the autocrat is domesticated into a larger scheme of Greek political systems, made not a threatening exception but one option among others, one in which basic ethical rules apply. To make this move in the decade after Xerxes' invasion, when the ideology of Greek freedom versus tyranny was first being developed, was a subtle and powerful statement.[81]

As this final antistrophe modulates into the epode, the world of politics is set in a still broader context, as we return to the lordship of the gods. The concept of vicissitude now forms a transition between constitutional

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[77] So Carey 1981: 60; contra Lloyd-Jones 1973: 112.

[78] Perhaps indicative of Pindar's own constitutional sympathies (Angeli Bernardini 1979b: 197 following the lead of Gentili [cf. 1988: 133–134]), or at least of how he wanted them represented. The category of the "wise" does not, of course, necessarily exclude Hieron (for Lefkowitz 1976: 30 the reference to the rule of the wise in fact evokes Hieron's rule over Syracuse.).

[79] Lefkowitz 1976: 30

[80] Cf. Lefkowitz 1976: 168.

[81] Raaflaub 2004: 59–65; cf. Oates 1963: 384 (with a somewhat different emphasis: the privileging of ethics over government. Yet this misses the subtlety of how Pindar normalizes tyranny.) For Schadewaldt 1928: 332 the aim of the entire poem is to refer the arbitrariness of different political systems to righteous divine will, and thus to justify his support for a tyrant.

variation and more general statements on the futility of jealousy. One must not contend with god, who sometimes exalts one person and sometimes gives great glory to others. This should console the jealous, but it does not; rather they wound themselves before they achieve what they desire (88–92). The effect of this sequence is to present constitutional variation as a function of divine unpredictability, and the implications are interesting. The supremacy of individuals or groups varies according to divine will, and since any form of civic organization allows the good man to flourish, it might be seen as impious to resist the established order. Those who do are jealous and should be rejected. The ode's earlier meditation on divine vicissitude (49–52) expresses a different emphasis, although it too ends with the awarding of glory, *kudos*, and the rejection of jealous hatred: god humbles the lofty-minded mortal and to others gives glory, whereas the poet must avoid the example of Archilochus. The focus there, as is fitting for a passage moving away from the myth of Ixion, is on divine discipline for the arrogant and the need for mortals to avoid vicious judgments that second-guess divine providence. In the later passage, change in fortune is not connected to reward or punishment, perhaps because unpredictability should be a better consolation to the jealous than the thought that supremacy and its opposite are deserved. In both instances *kudos* has no close connection with athletic victory and is a result of a more generalized preeminence.

The return to a consideration of the jealous now that the divine dimension has been restated recalls the earlier case of Ixion.[82] Both Ixion and the jealous do not realize the nature of their positions and reach too far. As a result, both succeed in harming only themselves (ἑᾷ . . . καρδίᾳ in line 91 recalls ἑὸν ὄλεθρον in line 41[83]) before they put their plans into effect. When the jealous plot, then, they plot not only against the immediate human object of their dislike but also against the gods, and the results are predictable. We must, then, bear the yoke lightly when we have taken it on our neck, since it is futile to kick against the goad (93–96). The yoke and the goad are the constraints that are laid on us by the dispensations of divine providence, but also by the framework of civic life in whatever polis we inhabit; gods and rulers almost merge as a source of authority. This all has a particular application for Hieron, first because he is the ruling autocrat of a tyranny that we now see is divinely sanctioned. Because

[82] Oates 1963: 384; Thummer 1972: 306; Bell 1984: 17.
[83] Grimm 1986: 559.

he is wise and already knows innately the lessons that Pindar theorizes in the ode, he knows the implications of vicissitude and the attitude that this dictates toward the gods who presently favor him. Second, as Catenacci has observed, the two metaphors used at the close of the ode have tyrannical resonance. At Theognis 847–850, the poet urges his audience to strike the empty-minded *dēmos* with a goad and place a yoke on their neck, and Solon (fr. 36.20–22 West) also speaks of taking up the goad and restraining the *dēmos*. Other fifth-century passages also associate the goad with tyranny.[84] If the poet's advice is to bear the yoke and submit to the goad, this must be read as an endorsement of the tyranny. Third, the image of Hieron with the goad and yoke takes us back to the scene of Hieron at the beginning of the poem, where his mastery over the chariot was seen to have political dimensions, now resumed and confirmed.[85]

The ode ends with the poet's statement that his pleasure is to associate with the good. The poem itself has contributed to the creation of this community. It has named a city of men and horses governed by the gentle hands of a wise monarch whose external and internal benefactions must surely call forth gentle returns. It has modeled the relationship of human benefaction on a divine one and exiled the jealous from both the divine (Ixion) and human (Archilochus) communities. It has praised the wisdom and exalted deeds of the victor in terms of his rule over the city and has theorized the ineffectiveness of the deceitful citizen, all while creating a god's-eye vision of constitutional variation in which Hieron's rule is normalized. The combination of the right ruler, the right city, and the right poet ensures that speech conforms to norms of positive reciprocity and is effective; Hieron's words of power correspond to those of his citizens and those of the poet. For this fellowship of the good, the chariot victory at Thebes, never mentioned after the first stanza, is a sign of the harmonious relationship that exists within Syracuse, but not a privileged sign. Hieron's rule is primary; praise of this enables all subordinate praise.

Specificity and Generality

There is a well-known narrative of how scholarship on the Pindaric victory ode moved from an approach characterized (by Lloyd-Jones) as "romantic" (poetry supposed to be the "spontaneous outpouring of the

[84] Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1624, *Prom.* 322–324; Sophocles fr. 683 Radt. For a more detailed exposition, see Catenacci 1991.
[85] Cf. Lefkowitz 1976: 31.

poet's true feelings") and "historicist" to a renewed appreciation of formal elements and structure with the work of Bundy and his followers.[86] Subsequent work has, among other achievements, urged attention to how individual poems deploy the formal resources of epinician to achieve particular effects,[87] and I have urged the position that historical circumstances can animate the topoi of the genre without analysis falling into the trap of fantastic historicism. *Pythian* 2 occupies a place of honor in the debates connected with this interpretative trajectory. Its obtrusive and repeated first-person statements and its emphasis on jealousy and slander, coupled with the historicist reconstruction of the scholia, encouraged reading the poem as a personal outburst by the poet. Reactions against the excesses of this approach have pointed out the many formal parallels for elements previously deemed expressive of the poet's emotion, and recent interpreters have been eager to set the poem in a generalized political and epinician context.[88] Yet it is worth concluding our examination with a consideration of the relationship of generalizing and particularist interpretations of the ode. How is it that one poem has given such a strong sense of first-person involvement when first-person interventions are by no means isolated phenomena in the Pindaric corpus? How do we account for the association of first-person statement with material that is strongly generalizing (gnome and fable)? What, in the end, is the nature of the first-person voice, its connection with the poet and the victor?

Pythian 2 seemed to interpreters in the early twentieth century to be an intensely personal document, hardly an epinician at all. Burton found a "strong sense of personal experience which pervades the last triad," while Finley speaks of a "flood of emotion."[89] Schadewaldt saw the poem as a "personal document" and, following the lead of Wilamowitz, thought that this could best be explained by the hypothesis that the ode was a poetic epistle rather than an epinician.[90] Bowra, also hypothesizing a poetic epistle, comments on the "intimate character" of the poem (no mention of the chorus or the circumstances of performance) and discovers a "sense of grievance." Pindar was "deeply unhappy."[91] What caused this unhappiness and outburst of intimacy? Adopting a late dating of the ode, Bowra followed the lead of some scholia in seeing a slighting reference to

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[86] Lloyd-Jones 1973: 115–116; cf. Young 1970.
[87] So, e.g., Lloyd-Jones 1973: 117; Crotty 1980: 1; Stoneman 1984: 43.
[88] Thummer 1972; Lloyd-Jones 1973; Miller 1981; Carey 1981: 1–7.
[89] Finley 1955: 92–93; Burton 1962: 115.
[90] Schadewaldt 1928: 326, 331; Wilamowitz 1922: 285–287.
[91] Bowra 1937: 3–4.

Bacchylides in the image of the ape and the children at 72–73.[92] Pindar's distress would have been caused by the commissioning of Bacchylides to write an ode for Hieron's Olympic chariot victory in 468. Other interpreters focused on the suggestion that Pindar had been slandered in front of Hieron and was defending himself.[93] We may cite Woodbury on the last triad as encapsulating this approach with particular clarity. These lines are

> very different in form and feeling from the usual stately Pindaric manner. He speaks not with the aloofness and assurance we have come to expect, but indignantly, with the air of one who has been treated unjustly and deceitfully; at the same time he descends from his customary grand manner to the ambiguous, allusive, enigmatic style of popular fables, oracles, and the vituperative iambic.[94]

I make these quotations from "biographical" critics to make the point that, even in a critical context conducive to biographical and historicist interpretation, the tone of *Pythian* 2, especially the last triad, was felt to be something out of the ordinary. Even if we do not agree (as I do not) that the atmosphere is one of indignation and unhappiness, we may still ask whether the ode creates an impression of greater-than-usual personal engagement. I think it does. It is all very well to show that evocations of slander, envy, and the poet's task of praise can be paralleled in other odes.[95] As Carlo Brillante has remarked, what is significant is the accumulation of such evocations and the intensity with which they are developed in the last triad.[96] Pindar moves back and forth between general statements (about the ape, the children, Rhadamanthys, slanderers, deceivers, flatterers, and foxes) and first-person utterances ("I am like a cork on the surface of the sea," "I do not share the boldness of the flatterer," "I attack my enemies like a wolf," "I want to associate with the good") that highlight the application of these statements to the experience of the speaker.[97] The result of acknowledging a certain first-person intensity

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[92] Schol. Pind. *P*.2 131b, 132c–f. Bowra's line of argument is developed by Gantz 1978; cf. Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: lii.

[93] Wilamowitz 1922: 292, dating the ode to 470; Woodbury 1945: 26; *Schol.* Pind. *P*. 2 132b (connecting the slander to Pindar's purported friendship with Thrasydaios, son of Theron).

[94] Woodbury 1945: 11, cf. 29–30 ("compelled to abandon [his] calm and imperturbable dignity . . . beaten but unbending").

[95] Thummer 1972: 303–304; Lloyd-Jones 1973: 125–126; Miller 1981: 137.

[96] Brillante 2000: 115–116. Cf. Hubbard 1986: 54 (on the "obsessive" quality of the subjective assertions); Most 1985: 124.

[97] Thus Oates 1963: 386 objects to Bowra's reading because "his interpretation is a specific one; yet Pindar writes in universal terms." What is remarkable is, in fact, the movement between the poles of the specific and the general. Brillante 2000: 115 suggests that "the use of traditional themes allows specific contents to be diffused by references to general models."

in the poem need not mark a return to biographical construction but rather a recognition of poetic self-placement (which, like all poetic statements, need not represent the poet's own thoughts). The poet creates the impression that he feels a particular engagement with the problems of Hieron's court and city, perhaps a greater engagement than he feels for other patrons. In a sense, this is not so different from other Pindaric first-person interventions, which establish the sincerity of the poet and his praise. Yet difference in quantity creates a difference in quality also. The court and city of an autocrat pose particular problems, and Pindar must fight to establish the norms of praise and the community of the good.

The community of the good is a discursive community. It gives credit where credit is due, and it avoids flattery, slander, and negative varieties of deception. It expresses its values through gnomic statements and by declarations of allegiance to them. Both Pindar and Hieron are members of this community, and both must take care, in their own ways, to avoid the trap of evil speech. Pindar must not slander and must avoid the complementary vice of flattery. Hieron must exercise and at the same time gladly receive free speech, rejecting equally the speeches of flatterers and slanderers. These standards are panhellenic but are threatened by the dynamics of court life (this is why the scholiasts are particularly prone to interpret the ode in terms of machinations within the court at Syracuse).[98] Although one may receive the impression that the final triad deals "with internal politics, with citizens alone,"[99] the implications of internal politics stretch far beyond Syracuse, especially when it is a case of setting Syracusan politics in a wider Greek context. As we saw in Chapter 3, the paradigm of the tyrant was fast maturing under the influence of the Persian Wars, although it had not yet been fully developed. We may look again at the evils of monarchy listed by the Persian Otanes in Herodotus' "Constitutional Debate" (3.80), written a few decades later.[100] In the case of monarchy even the best man will be corrupted by power and fall prey to hubris; envy (*phthonos*) is innate in mankind. Because of his hubris and envy, the monarch commits reckless acts:

> You would have thought that a tyrant should be without envy, since he has all good things, but the opposite of this happens with regard to his citizens. For he is envious of the best men who survive in safety and he rejoices in

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[98] Cf. Cole 1992: 128–129.

[99] Carey 1981: 51.

[100] See also the comments of Carey 1981: 52–53. Note too that Megabyzos' criticism of democracy (Hdt. 3.81), comparing it to a winter torrent in spate, resumes the implications of the "boisterous" host at *P*. 2.87.

> the worst of the townsmen, and he is the best of all at believing slanders. He is the most inconsistent of all men, for if you admire him moderately, he is irritated that he is not courted enthusiastically; if someone courts him enthusiastically, he is annoyed at him as a flatterer.

There is no reason to believe that these sentiments were new in the mid fifth century, and they shed an interesting light on the dynamics of *Pythian* 2. Not only is the tyrant envied (in Hieron's case as monarch and athletic victor), but he is prone to the vice himself. The Herodotean sketch unerringly highlights the same issues as Pindar: the envy of the best, the pleasure taken by the envious in the company of the bad, slander, and flattery. In Herodotus they characterize the tyrant; in Pindar, the enviers of the tyrant. Given this background, we see why Pindar takes such care to depreciate slanderers and flatterers. He must admire with vigor but sincerity, and locate his poetry on the high ground that separates the valleys of flattery and slander. He must, further, declare that there is a space for straight speaking at Hieron's court; his statement of fundamental ethical stability, that the straight talker flourishes despite constitutional variation, is diametrically opposed to the kind of constitutional determinism we see in Herodotus.

What of the tyrant's envy? Otanes sees the tyrannical reception of slander as a function of envy, and the emphasis placed on the superior judgment of the regal Rhadamanthys indicates that a king's propensity to listen to slander is a real issue here. As we saw above, Hieron's intelligence safeguards him from the tendencies innate to the tyrannical situation, just as Ixion's lack of judgment ensured his doom. If a tyrant's propensity to listen to slander is the norm, this may help to explain why generations of commentators have reconstructed a situation where Hieron has been listening to slanderers of Pindar. The mistake is to have read literally a theoretical construction of a political context, one that was introduced only to be rejected. When Pindar constructs a community of the good by saying that a deceitful townsperson cannot be effective among the good (81–82), and that his aim is to mix with the good (96), he anticipates an answer to Otanes' charge that the king envies the best and rejoices in the worst townspeople.[101] This approach to the ode elucidates the vehemence of the final triad, which has so often been felt to be disproportionate.[102] The job of the triad is to conjure and reject the specter of the evils of

[101] Lefkowitz 1976: 169 suggests that Hieron is being warned against jealousy of other athletic victors, but I do not see a return to the athletic context here. As Carey 1981: 52 remarks, the issues of praise and blame in the final triad are discussed in purely political terms.
[102] Crotty 1980: 11–12.

tyranny: jealousy, slander, envy, deceit, and a monarch who is subject to no one's judgment but his own (this last was also included in Otanes' list). It can be seen as a reaction to the fullness of praise and the quasi-hymnic invocation of Hieron in lines 57–71. Is this appropriate praise? Not for some tyrants, but Hieron's self-knowledge inoculates him against harm. Pindar constructs a world where Hieron is aware that he is being assessed according to the standards of the good, standards that are theorized in the poem in an explicitly political as well as epinician context. Pindar does not criticize the tyrant: far from it.[103] He encompasses the threat posed by anti-tyrannical rhetoric, appropriating its discourse and conjuring the danger only to dismiss it. Put simply: If Pindar can call up the specter of evil tyranny in front of Hieron, this means that it does not apply to him, since a bad tyrant could not endure a straight-speaking man. Hieron's court is no constitutional aberration but can fit squarely among the highest Greek ethical traditions. Pindar represents himself as feeling strongly about this, and his passion is a compliment to Hieron.

The negative role of envy in the world of epinician is clear. The athletic victor has achieved great glory and has been favored by the gods. He is envied by lesser men and must behave with moderation in order not to incite the wrath of the gods. These emotions and the dangers they provoke operate irrespective of the political position of the victor in the city. In the case of a monarch, the same hazards operate, but at an even more elevated level. He too is envied by lesser men and must behave with moderation. When a monarch has achieved victory in the games the danger is doubly determined: he will be envied both for his success in the games and for his power. Athletic victory can thus act as a sign for other success, and this may explain one of the oddities of *Pythian* 2, an epinician where the fact of victory receives attention even more minimal than usual for a Pindaric ode and the perils and opportunities of kingship are the focus. The prominent role of envy in the poem and especially in the last triad can therefore be attributed to its doubly determined operation in the tyrant's city. Hieron's wisdom and superlative achievement mean that he can ignore slanders and envy of himself; these are endemic to his situation (an issue that will recur in *Pythian* 1). Yet importantly, he must also not listen to slanders of others.

The passionate engagement of the ode's first person leads one to speculate on the nature of the relationship crafted between the speaker and the object of praise. Is the "I" a generalizing usage that means no more

[103] On advice for Hieron as a form of praise, see Stoneman 1984: 44.

than "one"?[104] Such an approach certainly saves us from the temptation of an overly biographical reading but seems unnecessary. The first person speaks not as an individual reacting to personal attacks or slights but with the authority of the poetic voice. It is precisely this authority that renders its judgments useful to the king. Of course, this voice speaks also as one of the "good," and as such it is representative of the larger community of those, in Sicily and throughout Greece, who share the same standards.[105] It is thus both an individual (though not a biographical) and a generalizing persona. If, as I believe, the poet's voice is reproduced in the mouth of multiple singers during choral performance, the enunciation of common standards in the ode creates a community of the good, one that includes the recipient of the praise. On the one hand, then, the performance models an ethical situation where details of politics do not matter. On the other hand, Hieron needs to be normalized within the community of the good because politics do matter. There is a massive imbalance of power between the poet and the king. That the poet can advise the king and in so doing glorify him shows both the poet's authority and the king's virtue and humility; yet the poet addresses Hieron as a preeminent, almost godlike, lord. Like Ixion, Hieron consorts with gods, but unlike him, he can "withstand his prosperity."

It has sometimes been contended that the "I" at the end of the ode recommends the speaker as a citizen, a man of sense, rather than as a poet.[106] We are now in a position to see that this contention, although it has an element of truth (the poet does configure himself as part of a wider discursive community), does not do justice to the complexity of the poetic voice. The poet occupies a mediating position between the king and his subjects. He theorizes the multitude of speech acts that surround the king, crystallizing and drawing conclusions from traditions of formal and informal praise and censure. He represents the community, both the Syracusan and the panhellenic, as it works to define its relationship and expectations to the king. Yet as the crystallizer of value, his position is also analogous to that of the ruler; this enables him to advise Hieron and judge his success. Hieron's preeminence is due to his innate understanding of these issues, and the poet aids him by creating a song of praise wherein he can recognize himself.

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[104] Lloyd-Jones 1973: 124.

[105] Similarly Cingano in Gentili et al. 1995: 53 sees in these lines a paradigmatic "I" that includes the (quasi-Theognidian) *anēr agathos*. Cf. Young 1968: 58–59 on the "first-person indefinite."

[106] Stoneman 1984: 46–48; Most 1985: 112, 117, 125–127; cf. Carey 1981: 51, and the objections of Brillante 2000: 116.

Both poet and king must deal with the same propensities of human nature toward deceit and sincerity, praise and blame, in themselves and in others. Both need the expertise and the wealth of resource proper to their respective tasks. So it is that the moral of line 56, with its focus on wealth and wisdom, applies to both Pindar and Hieron, as Hubbard has seen.[107] The convergence of poetic and political categories creates an inclusive notion of *sophia*: the skill to know one's place, to know which traditions are worthy of perpetuation, to choose the right word and the right persons in a given situation. And of course, Pindar is one of those people the king has to have the skill to choose. The focus on the operation of praise, blame, gratitude, slander, and envy makes the ode a demonstration of the construction of a royal poetics—a characteristic that is particularly resonant if the ode is indeed early and even the first of the poems for Hieron.

Might the poem, then, be a noncommissioned piece, sent to Hieron as a kind of sample so that the king would send further commissions Pindar's way?[108] This would explain the emphasis on poetics and is possible, but nothing in the ode necessitates such a reading. If my analysis is convincing, the creation of a royal poetics can just as easily be seen as a reaction to the particular problems inherent in an overture from Hieron. It is always difficult to decipher Pindaric references to payment and commission, and so it is difficult to know how much stress to put on the statement that the poem has been sent over the sea "like Phoenician merchandise" (67). It is at least compatible with the hypothesis of commission, although three lines later the song is called "a graceful favor of the lyre," an expression that sets it in the context of aristocratic exchange.[109] Certainty is impossible; the safest course is not to construct an interpretation of the poet-king dynamic that rests in part on the possibility that the ode is sent as an effort to enter Hieron's good graces and thus places Pindar in too lowly a position. Pindar was not, after all, a petitioner; nor was he a citizen of Syracuse. His song is effective because it marks the entrance of the external world into the dynamics of the polis: it comes from Thebes and has been sent on a ship. Syrascusan politics and ethics are thus immersed poetically in the wider Greek world—something that is paralleled in Hieron's foreign military and athletic policy as he intervenes in the affairs of Epizephyrian Lokroi and sends chariot teams to the mainland.

[107.] Hubbard 1986: 58. For an opposing view, see Gerber 1960: 108 n. 17.
[108.] Most 1985: 128.
[109.] Kurke 1991: 142 with n. 13.

The solution to these problems is the association of poet and king in terms that are familiar from Hesiod. Hesiod (as well as Archilochus and Aesopic traditions) is also a model for the appropriation of animal fable that is so marked a feature of *Pythian* 2. I suggested in an earlier chapter that Pindar read Hesiod's fable of the hawk and the nightingale as an examination of the dynamics of commissioned poetry, and that he transformed these dynamics so that both he and his victors were associated with Zeus' eagle. In *Pythian* 2, he uses, like Hesiod, elements of fable to sketch the issues that center on the relationship of king and singer, king and citizen. The fabulistic material in this poem focused on the importance of judgment and deception (apes, foxes, and wolves). Its very presence in the poem, as others have noted, marks Pindar's appropriation of animal fable and iambic invective for his own ends as the rejected discourse of blame is harnessed to the greater glory of Hieron.[110] It also reproduces at the level of genre certain conceptual concerns of the poem concerning transgression and hybridity. Ixion was removed from the mortal realm and lived with the gods (positive transgression). His hubris caused him to make a sexual attempt on Hera, and the result of this negative transgression was the creation of the hybrid centaurs (merging of man and animal rather than man and god). The animals of fable map human characteristics onto animal behavior (and the reverse); the world in which Pindar and Hieron operate is one characterized by the possibility of negative animal-human hybridity. Only virtuous supremacy and exceptionalism intimate the possibility of positive human-divine assimilation.[111] As we have seen, this possibility is realized by implication in the picture of Hieron's chariot in the first triad: attended by gods, operated by gentle hands, bringing into unity human and animal powers. Yet if Hieron is the political master of animals, Pindar is his poetic counterpart, bringing into a complex and productive harmony diverse discursive formats as well as himself, his patron, and a wider audience.

Pythian 2 is without doubt an extraordinary construction. It successfully contextualizes Hieron within Greek political ethics while simultaneously setting him apart. Yet setting Hieron apart does not mean that he is abnormal in the tyrannical sense that he is alienated from gods and men; rather, he is distanced from men by his closeness to the gods and his unmatched achievements—all this while maintaining a keen awareness of the limits of such achievement. The ode is a hymn to his sovereignty and generalized victoriousness, of which his chariot victory is one sign among many.

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[110] Fartzoff 1994: 217–220; Most 1985: 127; Brown 2006: 36–37.
[111] Bell 1984: 8–9 (and further 29–30 on animals as models of relations).

CHAPTER 6 | *Olympian* 1: Feasting at the King's Hearth

Α΄ Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ
ἅτε διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μεγάνορος ἔξοχα πλούτου·
εἰ δ' ἄεθλα γαρύειν
ἔλδεαι, φίλον ἦτορ,
μηκέτ' ἀελίου σκόπει (5)
ἄλλο θαλπνότερον ἐν ἀμέρᾳ φαεν-
νὸν ἄστρον ἐρήμας δι' αἰθέρος,
μηδ' Ὀλυμπίας ἀγῶνα φέρτερον αὐδάσομεν·
ὅθεν ὁ πολύφατος ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται
σοφῶν μητίεσσι, κελαδεῖν
Κρόνου παῖδ' ἐς ἀφνεὰν ἱκομένους (10)
μάκαιραν Ἱέρωνος ἑστίαν,

θεμιστεῖον ὃς ἀμφέπει σκᾶπτον ἐν πολυμήλῳ
Σικελίᾳ δρέπων μὲν κορυφὰς ἀρετᾶν ἄπο πασᾶν,
ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καί
μουσικᾶς ἐν ἀώτῳ, (15)
οἷα παίζομεν φίλαν
ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν. ἀλλὰ Δω-
ρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου
λάμβαν', εἴ τί τοι Πίσας τε καὶ Φερενίκου χάρις
νόον ὑπὸ γλυκυτάταις ἔθηκε φροντίσιν,
ὅτε παρ' Ἀλφεῷ σύτο δέμας (20)
ἀκέντητον ἐν δρόμοισι παρέχων,
κράτει δὲ προσέμειξε δεσπόταν,

Συρακόσιον ἱπποχάρ-
μαν βασιλῆα· λάμπει δέ οἱ κλέος
ἐν εὐάνορι Λυδοῦ Πέλοπος ἀποικίᾳ·
τοῦ μεγασθενὴς ἐράσσατο Γαιάοχος
Ποσειδάν, ἐπεί νιν καθαροῦ λέβη-
τος ἔξελε Κλωθώ,
ἐλέφαντι φαίδιμον ὦμον κεκαδμένον.
ἦ θαύματα πολλά, καί πού τι καὶ βροτῶν
φάτις ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀλαθῆ λόγον
δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις
ἐξαπατῶντι μῦθοι.

Β΄ Χάρις δ', ἅπερ ἅπαντα τεύχει τὰ μείλιχα θνατοῖς,
ἐπιφέροισα τιμὰν καὶ ἄπιστον ἐμήσατο πιστόν
ἔμμεναι τὸ πολλάκις·
ἀμέραι δ' ἐπίλοιποι
μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι.
ἔστι δ' ἀνδρὶ φάμεν ἐοικὸς ἀμφὶ δαι-
μόνων καλά· μείων γὰρ αἰτία.
υἱὲ Ταντάλου, σὲ δ' ἀντία προτέρων φθέγξομαι,
ὁπότ' ἐκάλεσε πατὴρ τὸν εὐνομώτατον
ἐς ἔρανον φίλαν τε Σίπυλον,
ἀμοιβαῖα θεοῖσι δεῖπνα παρέχων,
τότ' Ἀγλαοτρίαιναν ἁρπάσαι,

δαμέντα φρένας ἱμέρῳ, χρυσέαισί τ' ἀν' ἵπποις
ὕπατον εὐρυτίμου ποτὶ δῶμα Διὸς μεταβᾶσαι·
ἔνθα δευτέρῳ χρόνῳ
ἦλθε καὶ Γανυμήδης
Ζηνὶ τωὔτ' ἐπὶ χρέος.
ὡς δ' ἄφαντος ἔπελες, οὐδὲ ματρὶ πολ-
λὰ μαιόμενοι φῶτες ἄγαγον,
ἔννεπε κρυφᾷ τις αὐτίκα φθονερῶν γειτόνων,
ὕδατος ὅτι τε πυρὶ ζέοισαν εἰς ἀκμάν
μαχαίρᾳ τάμον κατὰ μέλη,
τραπέζαισί τ' ἀμφὶ δεύτατα κρεῶν
σέθεν διεδάσαντο καὶ φάγον.

ἐμοὶ δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαρ-
γον μακάρων τιν' εἰπεῖν· ἀφίσταμαι·
ἀκέρδεια λέλογχεν θαμινὰ κακαγόρους.

εἰ δὲ δή τιν’ ἄνδρα θνατὸν Ὀλύμπου σκοποί
ἐτίμασαν, ἦν Τάνταλος οὗτος· ἀλ-
λὰ γὰρ καταπέψαι
μέγαν ὄλβον οὐκ ἐδυνάσθη, κόρῳ δ’ ἔλεν
ἄταν ὑπέροπλον, ἅν τοι πατὴρ ὕπερ
κρέμασε καρτερὸν αὐτῷ λίθον,
τὸν αἰεὶ μενοινῶν κεφαλᾶς βαλεῖν
εὐφροσύνας ἀλᾶται.

Γ΄ ἔχει δ’ ἀπάλαμον βίον τοῦτον ἐμπεδόμοχθον
μετὰ τριῶν τέταρτον πόνον, ἀθανάτους ὅτι κλέψαις
ἁλίκεσσι συμπόταις
νέκταρ ἀμβροσίαν τε
δῶκεν, οἷσιν ἄφθιτον
θέν νιν. εἰ δὲ θεὸν ἀνήρ τις ἔλπεταί
<τι> λαθέμεν ἔρδων, ἁμαρτάνει.
τοὔνεκα {οἱ} προῆκαν υἱὸν ἀθάνατοί <οἱ> πάλιν
μετὰ τὸ ταχύποτμον αὖτις ἀνέρων ἔθνος.
πρὸς εὐάνθεμον δ’ ὅτε φυάν
λάχναι νιν μέλαν γένειον ἔρεφον,
ἑτοῖμον ἀνεφρόντισεν γάμον

Πισάτα παρὰ πατρὸς εὔδοξον Ἱπποδάμειαν
σχεθέμεν. ἐγγὺς {δ’} ἐλθὼν πολιᾶς ἁλὸς οἷος ἐν ὄρφνᾳ
ἄπυεν βαρύκτυπον
Εὐτρίαιναν· ὁ δ’ αὐτῷ
πὰρ ποδὶ σχεδὸν φάνη.
τῷ μὲν εἶπε· ‘Φίλια δῶρα Κυπρίας
ἄγ’ εἴ τι, Ποσείδαον, ἐς χάριν
τέλλεται, πέδασον ἔγχος Οἰνομάου χάλκεον,
ἐμὲ δ’ ἐπὶ ταχυτάτων πόρευσον ἁρμάτων
ἐς Ἅλιν, κράτει δὲ πέλασον.
ἐπεὶ τρεῖς τε καὶ δέκ’ ἄνδρας ὀλέσαις
μναστῆρας ἀναβάλλεται γάμον

θυγατρός. ὁ μέγας δὲ κίν-
δυνος ἄναλκιν οὐ φῶτα λαμβάνει.
θανεῖν δ’ οἷσιν ἀνάγκα, τά κέ τις ἀνώνυμον
γῆρας ἐν σκότῳ καθήμενος ἕψοι μάταν,
ἁπάντων καλῶν ἄμμορος; ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ
μὲν οὗτος ἄεθλος

ὑποκείσεται· τὺ δὲ πρᾶξιν φίλαν δίδοι.’
ὣς ἔννεπεν· οὐδ’ ἀκράντοις ἐφάψατο
ἔπεσι. τὸν μὲν ἀγάλλων θεός
ἔδωκεν δίφρον τε χρύσεον πτεροῖ-
σίν τ’ ἀκάμαντας ἵππους.

Δ΄ ἔλεν δ’ Οἰνομάου βίαν παρθένον τε σύνευνον·
ἔτεκε λαγέτας ἐξ ἀρεταῖσι μεμαότας υἱούς.
νῦν δ’ ἐν αἱμακουρίαις
ἀγλααῖσι μέμικται,
Ἀλφεοῦ πόρῳ κλιθείς,
τύμβον ἀμφίπολον ἔχων πολυξενω-
τάτῳ παρὰ βωμῷ· τὸ δὲ κλέος
τηλόθεν δέδορκε τᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἐν δρόμοις
Πέλοπος, ἵνα ταχυτὰς ποδῶν ἐρίζεται
ἀκμαί τ’ ἰσχύος θρασύπονοι·
ὁ νικῶν δὲ λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βίοτον
ἔχει μελιτόεσσαν εὐδίαν

ἀέθλων γ’ ἕνεκεν· τὸ δ’ αἰεὶ παράμερον ἐσλόν
ὕπατον ἔρχεται παντὶ βροτῶν. ἐμὲ δὲ στεφανῶσαι
κεῖνον ἱππίῳ νόμῳ
Αἰοληΐδι μολπᾷ
χρή· πέποιθα δὲ ξένον
μή τιν’ ἀμφότερα καλῶν τε ἴδριν †ἄ-
μα καὶ δύναμιν κυριώτερον
τῶν γε νῦν κλυταῖσι δαιδαλωσέμεν ὕμνων πτυχαῖς.
θεὸς ἐπίτροπος ἐὼν τεαῖσι μήδεται
ἔχων τοῦτο κᾶδος, Ἱέρων,
μερίμναισιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ λίποι,
ἔτι γλυκυτέραν κεν ἔλπομαι

σὺν ἅρματι θοᾷ κλεΐ-
ξειν ἐπίκουρον εὑρὼν ὁδὸν λόγων
παρ’ εὐδείελον ἐλθὼν Κρόνιον. ἐμοὶ μὲν ὦν
Μοῖσα καρτερώτατον βέλος ἀλκᾷ τρέφει·
†ἄλλοισι δ’ ἄλλοι μεγάλοι· τὸ δ’ ἔ-
σχατον κορυφοῦται
βασιλεῦσι. μηκέτι πάπταινε πόρσιον.
εἴη σέ τε τοῦτον ὑψοῦ χρόνον πατεῖν,
ἐμέ τε τοσσάδε νικαφόροις

ὁμιλεῖν πρόφαντον σοφίᾳ καθ’ Ἕλ-
λανας ἐόντα παντᾷ.

A′ Water is best, and gold like blazing fire
stands out in the night beyond all lordly wealth;
but if you long to sing of contests,
my heart,
look for no other
daytime star more warming than the sun, brilliant
in its deserted sky,
nor let us sing a competition greater than Olympia.
From there the renowned hymn
crowns the minds of experts, to sing
the son of Kronos, arriving at the rich
and blessed hearth of Hieron,

who wields the sceptre of justice in Sicily
with its rich flocks,
plucking the finest flower of every excellence.
He also glories
in the perfection of music,
the kind of songs with which
we men often sport around the table of friendship.
But take down the Dorian lyre from the peg,
if the grace of Pisa, the grace of Pherenikos
suggests to your mind thoughts of
surpassing sweetness:
when he rushed by the Alpheos
presenting his body at the racecourse—no need
for the goad
and mingled his master with power,

the king of Syracuse who delights in horses.
His fame shines
in the nobly populated colony of Lydian Pelops,
for whom the earth upholder of mighty strength felt desire,
Poseidon, when Klotho had removed him
from the pure cauldron,
adorned with a shoulder shining with ivory.
There are indeed many marvels, and yet I suppose
mortal speech goes beyond the true account,
tales adorned with variegated lies deceive us.

B′ Grace, the very thing that fashions
all delights for mortals,
confers esteem and often contrives to make
even the unbelievable believable.
But days to come
are the most expert witnesses.
It is fitting for a man to say fine things
about the gods, for the blame is less.
Son of Tantalos, about you I shall tell a tale
opposite to that told by men of old:
when your father issued an invitation
to the most well-ordered
banquet, and to friendly Sipylos,
providing for the gods a feast in return,
then he of the glorious trident snatched you away,

his mind conquered by desire, and on his golden horses
transferred you to the lofty palace
of Zeus, widely honored.
There in a later time
came Ganymede too
to offer Zeus the same service.
But when you disappeared and the men
who sought you earnestly
did not bring you back to your mother,
right away an envious neighbor said secretly
that they cut you with a knife limb from limb
into the might of water, boiling with fire,
and that at the tables during the last course
they divided up your flesh and ate you.

But for me it is impossible to call any one
of the blessed gods a glutton. I stand aloof from that.
The lot of those who speak evil is often loss.
Yet if the watchers of Olympos honored any mortal,
Tantalos was this man. But he could not digest
his great prosperity, and through surfeit got
an overwhelming ruin, which the father
hung over him in the form of a mighty stone;
desiring always to cast it away from his head
he is banished from festivity.

Γ′ He has this helpless life of perpetual toil,
a fourth labor with three others,
because he cheated the immortals
and to his age-mate drinking companions
gave the nectar and ambrosia
with which they had made him immortal.
But if a man hopes to act unnoticed by god, he errs.
Therefore the immortals cast his son back again
into the race of swiftly dying men.
But when at the age of youthful blooming
the soft hair covered his cheek and made it black,
he considered a marriage that lay ready for him

to win fair-famed Hippodameia from her Pisan father.
Approaching the gray sea alone in the darkness,
he called on the deep-thundering
god of the fair trident, and he
appeared to him right by his feet.
To him he said, "Come, Poseidon, if the friendly gifts
of the Cyprian goddess end in gratitude.
bind the bronze spear of Oinomaos;
convey me on the swiftest horses
to Elis and bring me to power,
since he has destroyed thirteen men who were
her suitors and delays the marriage

of his daughter. Great risk does not
come upon a strengthless man.
Since we must die, why should anyone
sit in the darkness and vainly boil away a nameless old age,
bereft of all noble things?
I will venture this contest:
you give a welcome outcome."
So he spoke, and he did not lay hold of ineffective
speech. To do him honor, the god
gave him a golden chariot
and winged and tireless horses.

Δ′ He killed mighty Oinomaos
and took the maiden as his wife.
He fathered six sons, leaders of the people

and eager for excellence,
and now he is associated
with glorious blood sacrifices,
reclining by the ford of the Alpheos;
he has a tomb much-visited next to the altar
that welcomes all, and the fame
of the Olympic games shines afar at the race course
of Pelops, where swiftness of foot is contested,
and supreme deeds of bold strength.
The victor enjoys for the rest of his lifetime
honey-sweet tranquility,

as far as contests are concerned, but always the
good of the present day
comes to every mortal as supreme.
But as for me, I must crown
that man with a hippic strain
in Aeolian song.
I believe that I shall adorn
no other guest-friend more knowledgeable of good things
or more authoritative in his power
among his contemporaries
in the renowned folds of my hymns.
A god, Hieron, supervises and takes thought
for your concerns: this is his care,
and if he does not soon leave you,
I hope I may proclaim a still sweeter

victory with the swift chariot,
discovering a path of song to assist me
when I come to the sunny hill of Kronos. For me
the Muse nurtures in strength a very mighty missile.
Greatness comes to different men in different ways,
but the highest peak is reached
by kings. Look no further.
May you walk on high for this your time;
may I consort so long with the victorious
and be renowned for my skill
among the Greeks everywhere.

Introduction

The year 476 B.C. was a successful one for the Sicilian tyrants at Olympia. Theron of Akragas won the four-horse chariot competition, while Hieron won the single horse race with the famed Pherenikos.[1] In the same year, Theron's brother Xenokrates won the four-horse chariot race at the Isthmian Games. Most, if not all, of these victories were celebrated with poetry: Pindar wrote *Olympian* 1 for Hieron, and *Olympians* 2 and 3 for Theron.[2] Bacchylides also wrote an epinician for Hieron (Bacch. 5), and Simonides may have written an epinician for Xenokrates (fr. 513 *PMG*). This was, significantly, the first celebration of the Olympic Games since the Persian invasions.[3] In Chapter 4 we explored the implications of the high panhellenic profile of Themistokles at the games, as well as the possibility that popular hostility was directed at Hieron's delegation during the festival. Indeed, by the time that Herodotus wrote his history, the Olympic Games could symbolize Greek devotion to excellence in the face of Persian incomprehension and hostility. During the previous festival, Mardonios and the Persians had been invading, and, as Herodotus tells it, a Persian lamented on being told that the Greeks were celebrating the Olympics and competed for a crown rather than money: "Alas, Mardonios! Against what kind of men did you bring us to fight? They compete not for money but for excellence" (8.26).[4] The Olympic success of western Greeks who had not participated in the struggle against the Persians would have served as an interesting counterpoint to mainland jubilation.

Olympian 1 documents an impressive effort on Pindar's part to direct cultural energy westward to Syracuse and Hieron's court. In this blessed realm, both king and poet have their parts to play, and Hieron's recognition of the value of poetry is an important part of his regal profile. The poem establishes Hieron as a model of just kingship, someone for whom wealth and excellence are parallel and interpenetrating categories. It continues the work of *Pythian* 2 in elaborating the model of an arrogant mortal (here Tantalos) who attempts to blur the distinction between gods and men and in glancing back to a time when human and divine interacted on a more intimate level. The mythical material in the poem sets Hieron and Pelops

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[1] Nicosia 1990: 56.

[2] This was a year in which Pindar's energies were focused on the west: he also composed *Olympians* 10 and 11 for Hagesidamos of Epizephyrian Lokroi.

[3] Mullen 1982: 167 underscores the significance of the date of *O.* 1 in the first Olympics after the wars, although he too easily takes it for granted that the Greeks already saw the battles of Himera and Salamis as parallel.

[4] See Kurke 1991: 4 for a reading of this incident as expressing the aristocratic ideology of athletic competition.

in parallel, while casting Tantalos as a darkly negative exemplar. The connection between Hieron and the figures in the myth is, however, by no means merely a generalizing juxtaposition of positive and negative paradigms with the victor.[5] Rather, the myth is chosen because it explores a set of problems that are of particular relevance to the tyrant, and because the family of Tantalos was paradigmatic for wealth and royalty. Hieron's royal status, as Adolf Köhnken observes, is explicitly emphasized and was "of foremost importance" for Pindar.[6] Pelops is not only an omen of a future victory for Hieron in the chariot race at Olympia, but a colonial foundation hero who, after narrowly missing a chance at immortality, enjoys posthumous cult after having founded a dynasty.

The poem opens with the famous priamel that establishes the superiority of the Olympic contest. From Olympia, we move to the cultural riches of Hieron's court in Syracuse, since the thought of Olympia spurs the poet to broaden the scope of the lyric celebration. Pindar evokes Hieron's rule over a fertile country and the poetic performances over which he presides. These culminate in the current ode celebrating Pherenikos. His victory has created fame for Hieron in the Peloponnese, the "colony of Lydian Pelops," and with the mention of Pelops the ode's transition to myth begins. We learn that Poseidon fell in love with the young Pelops when Klotho took him from the "pure" cauldron, fitted with an ivory shoulder (25–27). This marvelous occurrence causes Pindar to reflect on the relationship between the marvelous and speech (28–35), and he then declares that he will tell a different story of Pelops, the son of Tantalos, from those who have gone before. Poseidon, subdued by desire, kidnapped Pelops at a "most orderly" banquet given by Tantalos to the gods in exchange for the divine hospitality they had offered him. When nobody could find Pelops, a jealous neighbor secretly spread the rumor that he had been served to the gods for dinner (36–51). In the celebrated "hush passage" that follows, Pindar declares that he cannot call a god a glutton and rejects this version of the myth (52–53), giving a new version of the sin of Tantalos that made him one of the celebrated sinners condemned to eternal punishment. It is this: Tantalos was honored by the gods but let it go to his head. He stole the nectar and ambrosia of the gods, with which they had made him immortal, and gave it to his companions. His punishment is a huge stone that Zeus hung over his head. The gods also expelled Pelops from Olympos and sent

[5] For Young, the choice of the myth is determined by the general idea of superlativity (1968: 123), while for Hubbard (1987: 4) the (dis)analogies between victor and mythological figures are not profound.
[6] Köhnken 1974: 199.

him back down to the mortal world (54–66). When Pelops came of age, he determined to marry Hippodameia, the daughter of Oinomaos, king of Pisa. Oinomaos was trying to delay her wedding by killing her suitors in a chariot race. Pelops prays for Poseidon's help and the god gives him a chariot and winged horses, with which Pelops wins the race and Hippodameia, subsequently engendering six sons (67–89). Now he enjoys cult at his tomb on the banks of the Alpheos. His fame looks afar from the site of the games, where a victor enjoys "fair weather" for the rest of his life because of his victory (90–99). Finally, Pindar uses the reflection that one's immediate good is the highest good to make a transition back to the praise of Hieron, ending the ode with the hope that Hieron will soon win a chariot victory at Olympia.

My analysis of this ode will fall into two major sections. In the first I shall investigate the implications of the opening priamel and of the culture of Hieron's Syracusan court as presented in lines 8–19. The evocation of gold together with blazing fire and the sun naturalizes the possession of tyrannical wealth and creates a connection between a monarch and the stellar potentate. The picture of Hieron's court, flocked to by poets and intellectual experts (the *sophoi*), and of Hieron himself, wielding his scepter of justice, is embedded in a rich network of Homeric and Hesiodic intertexts. Their effect is to create a powerful delineation of just kingship in which royal power works hand in hand with felicitous poetic expression. The second section focuses on the myth of Tantalos and Pelops, both in its rejected (cannibalistic) version and in Pindar's corrected account. Both versions of the myth explore issues relevant in an autocratic context: the role played by jealousy in the creation of tyrannical mythology, the equivocal position of divine favorites as inescapably sundered from other mortals, and the necessity of accepting the constraints of such a position (for good and ill) together with its implications for normal human reciprocity. The narrative of the imagined cannibalistic banquet plays on developing stereotypes of Sicilian gastronomy and tyrannical appetites. On the other hand, Pindar's account of Tantalos' actual dietary transgression echoes Hesiod's narrative of the separation of gods and men at Mekone, creating a cautionary tale that explains why kings, no matter how divinely favored, must operate within the limits of mortality: precisely because their superior position renders them particularly prone to significant transgression. Pindar's narration of these stories, and his setting them in contrast to Hieron's sympotic culture as portrayed in the opening of the ode, implies that Hieron has already learned this lesson and that he recognizes the problems inherent in regal power. The paederastic relationship between Pelops and Poseidon serves as a model for the

recipient of divine grace who flirts with immortality but ultimately exists in the mortal world of death where foundation and its attendant postmortem honors are the best compensation. It also acts as an authorizing fiction that replaces Syracuse's own prior narrative of paederastic murder, mayhem, and foundation. By the conclusion of the ode, Hieron and Pindar march in parallel through the high places of world, both superlative, both engaged in the same project of reasoned exploration of human limits.

Brilliant Dynasts and Just Kings

The Opening Priamel

The beginning of the ode moves from water to Olympia in terms calculated to stress not only the supremacy of that contest but also, by implication, of Hieron, the victor.[7] Starting with the natural world, Pindar progresses to fire, gold, the sun, and climactically to the realm of constructed achievement, the games. Presocratic thinkers of the previous century had assigned various cosmological significances to fire and water, but Pindar's interests are not theirs. As we can tell by the move from nature to the Olympic Games, the natural world exists to provide a theater and a point of comparison for human achievement.[8] As a blazing fire stands out in the night, so gold stands out in the sphere of wealth. As has often been noted, these two items are characterized by their radiance, an important theme in this poem.[9] Blazing fire at night forms a nice transition to the dominance of the sun in the daytime sky. Just as a blazing fire will blind us to the nighttime stars, so the sun is the only visible star during the daytime. Unlike the stars, fire and the sun give out heat and light. They are both, therefore, good analogues for Hieron, the reigning and enabling power in Syracuse, who, like fire and the sun, eclipses all other pretenders to preeminence.[10]

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[7] Lefkowitz 1976: 77; Gerber 1982: 10; Mullen 1982: 167.

[8] Both Race 1981: 119–120 and Gerber 1982: 8–9 doubt that there is any allusion here to presocratic thought, although a general background of learned speculation of the "wise" on the roles of various elements does not seem impossible. On the centrality of man in the opening priamel, see Race 1981: 121 with n. 11.

[9] Segal 1964: 213 (and passim for the metaphorical contrast between light and darkness); Lefkowitz 1976: 81–82. Finley 1955: 53–55.

[10] Gerber 1982: 22 interprets ἐρήμας (6) as "barren" or "lifeless" in order to do justice to the contrast with θαλπνότερον ("warmer" in the sense of more life-fostering), but with others I prefer the interpretation "deserted," since it emphasizes the unique effect that the sun (and thus Hieron) has on other astral bodies. As Krummen (1990: 215; cf. 82) points out, the sun metaphor is aptly associated with great men, who outshine all competitors.

Linking gold with the sun through fire also has the important effect of naturalizing wealth, making it an elemental operator.[11] Although a generation later Herodotus' narration of the Persian comment on the Olympics quoted above would programmatically separate wealth from excellence, wealth here takes its place as part of the firmament. And of course, it is wealth that enables participation and victory in hippic contests at the games. In Simonides' (almost contemporary) Plataia elegy, the sun is riddlingly called the "esteemed gold in the sky" (16 West^2) and is a witness of the bravery of the combatants.[12] Here the stress is on the role of the sun as witness of excellence, but the ode for Hieron can go even further, since the tyrant is doubly preeminent: as an Olympic victor and as a possessor of wealth. Hieron is present in the priamel from the moment gold is mentioned.

A brief glance at Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, composed less than two decades after *Olympian* 1, may also help us recover some of the resonance of the priamel. As the play opens, a watchman is lying on the roof of the royal palace waiting for the beacon signal that will tell of the fall of Troy. This beacon will mark, or so he thinks, a release from toil. As he lies, he watches the "assembly of the night-time stars . . . the brilliant dynasts, the stars that stand out in the night" (ἄστρων κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὁμήγυριν . . . λαμπροὺς δυνάστας, ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι ἀστέρας, 4–7). The watchman knows that these "dynasts" bring both summer and winter to men, that they rise and fall. This picture of seasonal vicissitude is, of course, a significant analogue for the fortunes of the House of Atreus that will be the focus of the trilogy, and vicissitude, although not prominent in the priamel, is a familiar Pindaric motif.[13] Both Aeschylus and Pindar use the vocabulary of stars that "stand out" (διαπρέπει, *O*. 1.2; ἐμπρέποντας, *Ag*. 6) and of a nighttime beacon. This may well make us suspect that the victory of Hieron would have been celebrated by bonfires at night,[14] and in the world of epinician, victory is certainly a "release" from toil. We are dealing, then, with a set of images that resonate with the themes of victory and power.[15] The watchman's word "dynasts" (δυνάστας) is especially suggestive. It is

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[11] For gold and sovereignty, see Kurke 1999: 49–53.

[12] Rutherford 2001: 49.

[13] It is, however, perhaps significant that the end of the poem prays that Hieron may "tread on high *for this time*" (that is, the time of his lifetime). His place in the firmament is temporary.

[14] We know, moreover, from *O*. 10.73–77, that the festivities at the Olympic games continued into the night, where they would doubtless have been characterized by torches and bonfires (Krummen 1990: 162, 213).

[15] Griffith 1995: 78–81 teases out the implications of the brilliant dynasts of the watchman's speech for the world of the *Oresteia*.

not a word used by Pindar, and it seems to have entered Greek only in the fifth century to describe powerful kings. If the stars suggested "brilliant dynasts" to an Athenian audience in 458, it seems likely enough that the image may have been alive earlier in the century and informed *Olympian* 1, whose priamel now is multiply resonant. The general preeminence of water, gold, sun, and Olympia is transformed into a complex imagistic nexus exemplifying the ruler of mighty wealth and uncontested power.

A World of Poetry

Once he has focused on the Olympic contests, Pindar transfers the momentum to Syracuse by referring to the motion of song and singers from Olympia to Hieron's hearth. This occurs through the "renowned" (πολύφατος) hymn that "crowns" the minds of the wise, to go to the wealthy and blessed hearth of Hieron and sing of Zeus.[16] The nature of this hymn is not specified, although it has been suggested attractively by Slater that the Archilochus song sung as a kind of victory chant (and alluded to at the opening of *Olympian* 9) may be intended.[17] In any event, Pindar sets a scene where the idea of victory song inspires many poets to focus on Hieron and travel to his court. Although the performance of the ode has, of course, already begun, in the fictional world of poetic spontaneity Pindar has not yet "begun" (focused on) his own song and will not do so until line 17, when he gives the command to remove the Dorian lyre from its peg.[18] This rhetorical delay gives Pindar the opportunity to evoke the cultural richness of the court. As I outlined in Chapter 3, the 470s saw an extraordinary concentration of literary talent in Syracuse, including (apart from Pindar) Simonides, Bacchylides, Aeschylus, and Epicharmus. Both Pindar and Bacchylides cast Hieron's Syracuse as a center for the arts, and although sophistication in the ways of the Muses is an epinician commonplace (often coupled with expertise in war), the musical culture inspired by Hieron is evoked here with particular emphasis on the movement of outsiders toward the kingly center and in greater than usual detail.[19]

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[16] See Nisetich 1975 for the crowning metaphor involved in ἀμφιβάλλεται here. Nisetich prefers to read the dative as instrumental here and translates (67 n. 33) "whence the song becomes a coronation through the devisings of the wise, in order that they might cry aloud the son of Kronos as they come to the rich happy hearth of Hieron." Although I am convinced by his parallels that the verb refers to crowning, I think that "becomes a coronation" puts too much pressure on its connotation.

[17] Slater in Gerber 1982: 25; Morgan 1993: 3.

[18] Cf. Felson 1984: 383.

[19] For the motif, see Bundy 1986: 24–26. In most of his examples, the praise is quite brief, along the lines that in such-and-such a city the sweet-voiced Muses flourish (*O.* 13.21), or they care for Kalliope (*O.* 10.14; cf. *N.* 11.7, *N.* 7.9). Only *P.* 5.107, 114 (for another king, Arkesilaos of Kyrene), shows anything like the same degree of emphasis.

When the wise arrive at the palace, they congregate around the table of friendship (φίλαν . . . τράπεζαν, 16–17). The wording here marks the context as sympotic and participating in the relationship of *xenia*.[20] Pindar evokes sympotic performance with the verb παίζομεν (we "sport" or "play,") including himself in the friendly competitiveness of song in this context. Such performance will probably have been both formal and informal. We know that Pindar composed *skolia*, drinking songs, for Hieron. Three fragments of these are preserved and refer to the pleasures of wine and music. Fr. 124d (Philod. *de mus*. 4, col. 126.1–3 Delattre) speaks of using the *barbitos* (the bass lyre) to rouse the spirit and voice of someone in their cups (βαρβι[τί]ξαι θυμὸν ἀμβλὺν ὄντα καὶ φωνὰν ἐν οἴνῳ), and fr. 126 (Ath. 12.512d = Heracl. Pont. fr. 55 Wehrli) exhorts its audience not to "weaken enjoyment in life, since an enjoyable life is much the best thing for a man" (μηδ' ἀμαύρου τέρψιν ἐν βίῳ· πολύ τοι / φέριστον ἀνδρὶ τερπνὸς αἰών). Perhaps the most interesting, however, is fr. 125, again preserved in Athenaeus, who is reporting Aristoxenus (Ath. 14.635b, d = Aristoxenus fr. 99 Wehrli). Aristoxenus states that in a drinking song for Hieron, Pindar names the *magadis* (an ancient instrument) and says that Terpander invented the *barbitos*:

> τόν ῥα Τέρπανδρός ποθ' ὁ Λέσβιος εὗρεν
> πρῶτος, ἐν δείπνοισι Λυδῶν
> ψαλμὸν ἀντίφθογγον ὑψηλᾶς ἀκούων πακτίδος
>
> which [the *barbitos*] once Terpander of Lesbos first invented
> at Lydian banquets,
> when he heard the twanging of the tall *pēktis* responding to the voice.

This passage shows us that at least one Pindaric drinking song for Hieron showed some interest in the history of Greek music and in the paths by which eastern musical instruments inspired Greek innovation, in this case by Terpander. Since this song was performed in Syracuse, we may even be justified in seeing a process of cultural transfer from east to west. It is suggestive, moreover, that the musical source here is Lydia. Could it be that Pindar's more intimate sympotic performances for Hieron were characterized by the use of the *barbitos* mentioned in fr. 125 and implied in 124d? Might we see in the exhortation to enjoyment (*terpsin*) of fr. 126 and the subsequent assurance that an enjoyable life is best for a man (ἀνδρὶ τερπνὸς) a playful punning on the name of Terpander? If so,

[20] Schmitt-Pantel 1990: 22–23; Krummen 1990: 163–166; Athanassaki 2004: 320–321.

the development of the rest of the triad becomes even more resonant. Generalized singing at Olympia is followed by genial sympotic song (perhaps characterized by the *barbitos*) around Hieron's table of friendship and in the presence of like-minded singers and men of culture. These are the kinds of song in which Hieron glories and is glorified, but they are not the only ones, and in the present context, not the most important ones. At line 17, Pindar draws a contrast between this kind of performance and the song suitable for the current occasion. "But take down the Dorian lyre from the peg, if . . . Pherenikos and Pisa subjected your mind to thoughts of greatest sweetness." The Dorian lyre (*phorminx*) now comes into its own, although it is unclear whether we should see a reference here to a specific musical mode or a kind of lyre.[21]

The mention of Lydian banquets in fr. 125 may also be significant in terms of contextualizing the myth of Pelops and his father, which will take up the center of the ode. At line 24, Pelops will be described as a Lydian, and Lydian feasting with the gods lies at the core of both the rejected and the revised versions of the Pelops myth that Pindar tells. Later ages would recount that both the Lydian and the Phrygian modes came to Greece with the companions of Pelops; Athenaeus (14.625e–626a) quotes a fragment of Telestes (a late-fifth-century poet from Selinous) that told of a banquet where the companions of Pelops sung a "Lydian hymn" to the "twangings of the *pēktis*" (*PMG* 810). There is no way of knowing how early this tradition is, or how Pindar's version of Terpandrian innovation fits into this picture, yet the nexus of banquets, sympotic song, Pelops, and Lydia fits comfortably into a context of colonial cultural transfer that moves from Lydia to the Peloponnese and thence to Syracuse. Pindar's call for the *phorminx* in line 17 marks the culmination of a process of musical elaboration and exchange. His song distinguishes itself from the crowd of other performances (including even his own *skolia*), standing out like gold, the sun, the Olympics, and Hieron.[22] We can conceive of this difference in two ways. If we imagine a strictly sympotic performance context, we might imagine that the (conceptual) arrival of the lyre in the hands of the most expert at this point conforms to a pattern of sympotic performance referred to by Dicaearchus and Plutarch. Dicaearchus (fr. 88 Wehrli; Ath. 694a), speaking of the origin of the

[21] Prauscello 2012: 77.

[22] Morgan 1993: 2–3 (although I would now stress less what I called Pindar's "professionalism" and the emergence of his epinician from a background of informal song and more the process by which this current song and its occasion are played off against other occasions and songs, both more and less formal); Burgess 1993: 40.

term *skolion*, opined that song at the symposium had three stages: first everybody sang, then individuals sang in succession, then the experts. In Plutarch's explanation (*Quaest. conv.* 615b) the third stage is marked by the passing around of the lyre.[23] In this case, we might conclude that the opening of Pindar's song recalls and appropriates a similar progression from communal singing to the performance of an expert. If, on the other hand, we prefer to envisage a public performance, as I do, then the ode is staging a movement from intimate sympotic performance to public presentation.

From Homer to Hieron

My focus so far has been on how Pindar locates Hieron's victory within a constellation of other achievement and his own epinician within a broader context of song. Next, I want to spend some time drawing out the implications of the picture of Hieron we receive in the first antistrophe, one that culminates at the opening of the epode when he is explicitly labeled king of Syracuse. Even before this, however, Pindar has specified Hieron's position in evocative terms. He "wields the scepter of justice in Sicily with its rich flocks, plucking the finest flower of every excellence."[24] Hieron is presented as an embodiment of just rulership. This presentation might prompt a Pindaric audience steeped in the poetry of Homer and Hesiod to consider the relationship of the Syracusan with epic exemplars of kingship. The nature of good and bad rule was a long-standing concern of epic. By calling on this heritage, Pindar could align Hieron with Hesiodic kings who ensure the prosperity of their people (and further have connections with the Muses) and—more faintly perhaps—explore his relationship with Agamemnon, Homer's troubled paradigm of royalty.

Let us begin with Agamemnon. Mary Lefkowitz has pointed out how Hieron's "scepter of justice" responds to Homer's *Iliad,* Book 9.98–9.[25] Here, in the sorry aftermath of his quarrel with Achilles, Agamemnon invites the elders of the Achaeans to dinner, and when he has given them a

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[23] These explanations are problematic and clearly later reconstructions (Teodorsson 1989; Lambin 1993), and one would not want to press them as an etymological explanation for *skolia*, but perhaps they do preserve a recollection of the progression of song at a symposium.

[24] "Rich in apples" is another possible translation. For the problem, see Gerber 1982: 34.

[25] Lefkowitz 1976: 80 for the echo in Pindar of θέμιστας (and cf. Sicking 1983: 66 for Hieron as a Homeric "god-nurtured king"). For further examples of the association of kings and *themis,* see Gerber 1982: 33. Luraghi 1994: 356, 2011: 32 also notes the importance of Hieron's scepter.

banquet pleasing to their spirit, they give him advice, starting with Nestor. Nestor states that he will both begin and end with Agamemnon,

οὕνεκα πολλῶν
λαῶν ἐσσι ἄναξ καί τοι Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιξε
σκῆπτρόν τ᾽ ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνά σφισι βουλεύῃσθα.
τώ σε χρὴ περὶ μὲν φάσθαι ἔπος ἠδ᾽ ἐπακοῦσαι, (100)
κρηῆναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ, ὅτ᾽ ἄν τινα θυμὸς ἀνώγῃ
εἰπεῖν εἰς ἀγαθόν· σέο δ᾽ ἔξεται ὅττί κεν ἄρχῃ.

because you are the lord of many peoples, and Zeus has entrusted to you the scepter and judgments, so that you may take counsel for them. So you especially must both speak a word and listen, and you must accomplish also the suggestion for someone else when his spirit moves him to give good advice. Whatever he begins will depend on you.

(*Il.* 9.97–102)

I have quoted more of the context here than in Lefkowitz's vision of the intertext because I find this passage extremely resonant. First, it foreshadows the connection between Zeus and Hieron, for Agamemnon has received his authority from Zeus. Not only that, but just as, according to the topos, poets begin and end their poems with Zeus, so Nestor will begin and end with Agamemnon. Pindar too brings Hieron and Zeus into close association in 10–11 and, naturally, evokes Hieron in both the first and the last stanzas of his poem. Just as Zeus has given Agamemnon σκῆπτρόν τ᾽ ἠδὲ θέμιστας, the scepter and judgments, so Hieron wields the scepter of judgment (θεμιστεῖον . . . σκᾶπτον).[26] Hieron, like Agamemnon, is lord of many peoples, and it may be significant that Hieron is represented as ruling in Sicily, not just in Syracuse. (The city is not mentioned until the beginning of the epode, line 23.) Agamemnon invites the lords of the Achaeans to a banquet for counsel and Hieron invites the "wise" to his court, to the table of friendship. Nestor's words to Agamemnon set up a model relationship between king and counselors. A king must be ready both to speak and to listen. In particular, he must be guided by good advice. In the *Iliad*, this role is filled by Nestor. In Syracuse it is the invited poets, and one poet in particular, who will fulfill this role for Hieron, speaking, as fearlessly as Nestor does, for the king's own good. Troubles arise for the community of the Greeks

[26] Harrell 2002: 442 also links Hieron with the Homeric "scepter and judgments," although she looks rather to *Il.* 2.204–6.

at Troy because Agamemnon is too greedy of his honor and will not give Achilles his due. Indeed, Diomedes' speech in *Iliad* 9 prior to Agamemnon's banquet confirms that Agamemnon's performance of his kingly duties is problematic. Diomedes reproaches Agamemnon for cowardice: "the son of crooked-minded Kronos gave you gifts by halves. With the scepter he granted to you to be honored above all men, but he did not give you courage, which is the greatest power" (*Il.* 9.37–39). Here kingly authority (the scepter) is not matched by qualities of character. Agamemnon could thus serve as a negative paradigm for a Sicilian tyrant: tyrants too are prone to jealousy of those who might threaten them in excellence (or any other sphere). By the end of the ode, however, the audience will be reassured that Hieron's character lives up to his scepter-bearing status. No contemporary is more authoritative in power or more knowledgeable of good things (lines 104–105).

Agamemnon is an interesting intertext both because of the part he plays in the *Iliad* and because of his connection with Pelops, a connection that arises genealogically and through Agamemnon's scepter. As Richard Seaford remarks, this scepter is an example of a "gift, perpetuating political authority." It was "given by the gods to Pelops and by him to subsequent generations" (*Il.* 2.101–8).[27] Now, Pelops is one of the subjects of the ode's myth, and a mythical paradigm for Hieron. If we are alive to this resonance of Agamemnon's scepter, it is tempting to conclude that conceptually Hieron's scepter *is* Pelops' and Agamemnon's scepter, and descended to all of them from Zeus. In *Iliad* 2.104, the scepter was given by Hermes to Pelops, the "driver of horses," and he in turn gave it to Atreus, the "shepherd of the people" (2.105). No wonder Hieron wields the scepter of justice in Sicily, *rich in flocks*, and in line 23 delights in horses. Evidently, the flocks are not only sheep.

Heralds' staffs seem to have been a specialty in Magna Graecia, either as dedications or for use. An especially splendid and massive example in bronze has been preserved from Syracuse and dates on stylistic and epigraphical grounds to the height of Deinomenid power (485–470 B.C.). It has the inscription *syrakosiōn damosion*, marking it as public property.[28] The use of kappa in the inscription probably indicates that the staff belongs to the reign of Hieron, if we believe it was Hieron who spearheaded the change from koppa to kappa in Syracusan inscriptions.[29] If this is so, the production

[27] Seaford 2004: 58, 152.

[28] Hornbostel 1979: 53–54.

[29] This change is often attributed to Gelon, but see Knoepfler 1992: 19–23 for persuasive arguments that it belongs to the reign of Hieron (he refers to the herald's staff on p. 23).

of the herald's staff is roughly contemporary with *Olympian* 1 and shows that the picture there of Hieron wielding a scepter is no accident; it belongs to a context where a king presides over the administration of justice with a power that derives from Zeus but, at least at the level of representation, relies on the good advice of his subordinates and citizens, freely given.

From Tyrtaeus to Hieron

Scepters aside, there is another reason the introduction of Pelops (in line 24) will form a natural pendant to the specification of Hieron as king in the preceding line (23). Pelops is a king and leader.[30] It is as a paradigm of kingliness that he is known to the elegiac tradition represented by Tyrtaeus.[31] When Tyrtaeus engages in an emphatic examination of what makes a "good man" in the eyes of the city, his most admired quality is standing fast in the ranks during battle. He rejects various other characteristics that might claim our attention, such as speed, eloquence, and good looks, and most importantly he rejects wealth and kingliness:

> [not] if he should be richer than Midas or Kinyras
> nor if he should be more kingly (*basileuteros*) than Pelops, the son of Tantalos.
> (12.6–7)

Wealth and kingliness are, of course, qualities that would help define Pindar's tyrants, and they are here set against the archaic Spartan hoplite ethic. More than a century before *Olympian* 1, therefore, Pelops was a mythological archetype of kingship. His father Tantalos was a corresponding archetype of wealth,[32] as we see when Plato's Socrates remarks that he would rather his arguments were stable than have "the money (*chrēmata*) of Tantalos in addition to the wisdom of Daidalos" (*Euth.* 11d–e). Fascinatingly, both these passages use Tantalos and Pelops as elements in a *recusatio*: wealth and kingliness are rejected in favor of other goods. Similarly Archilochus, in the first extant item of Greek to use the word *tyranny*, declares:

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[30] If Köhnken 1983: 75 n. 42 is correct that *lagetas* at *O.* 1.89 is a nominative referring to Pelops rather than accusative plural referring to his sons, then the connection Hieron with Pelops as a "leader of the people" becomes even stronger (cf. *P.* 3.85–86: λαγέταν γάρ τοι τύραννον δέρκεται, εἴ τιν' ἀνθρώπων, ὁ μέγας πότμος).

[31] Cf. Köhnken 1974: 200.

[32] Cf. Willink 1983: 30.

I don't care about Gyges, rich in gold,
Nor has envy of him ever yet grabbed me, nor do I get indignant about
The deeds of the gods, and I do not love a great tyranny (18W)

Wealth and monarchic rule are both rejected (the same collocation we saw in Tyrtaeus' list). It seems most likely, therefore, that Pindar chose the Pelops myth not just because it gave him a chance to tie his victor to a founding hero of Olympic competition but because this hero was a member of a dynasty that started with outstanding divine favor and led to Agamemnon, commander in chief of the Greek forces during the Trojan war and wielder of the divine scepter of Pelops. It was a dynasty that was preeminent in the Greek imagination for its wealth and royalty, qualities that Pindar wishes to foreground in his treatment of Hieron. Other poets may reject political power and money, but this could never be the ethic of royal epinician.

From Hesiod to Hieron

Hesiod's picture of the gifts of the good king in the *Theogony* (81–96) unites the themes of just rule and superior speech in a way that makes this passage another pertinent intertext for the opening of *Olympian* 1.[33] There we learn that when the Muses honor one of the kings nurtured by Zeus (διοτρεφέων βασιλήων), they pour sweet dew on his tongue and his words flow like honey. His people "look to him as he decrees his ordinances with straight judgments" (πάντες ἐς αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι διακρίνοντα θέμιστας ἰθείῃσι δίκῃσιν, 85–86). He easily settles quarrels and

ἐρχόμενον δ' ἀν' ἀγῶνα θεὸν ὣς ἱλάσκονται
αἰδοῖ μειλιχίῃ, μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισι.
τοίη Μουσάων ἱερὴ δόσις ἀνθρώποισιν.
ἐκ γάρ τοι Μουσέων καὶ ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος
ἄνδρες ἀοιδοὶ ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κιθαρισταί,
ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες· (*Theog.* 91–96)

as he walks through the assembly they propitiate him like a god
with gracious reverence, and he stands out in the assembly.
Such is the sacred gift of the Muses to men.
For from the Muses and far-shooting Apollo
come singers on the earth and lyre players,
but kings are from Zeus.

[33] So also Harrell 2002: 443–444.

Several elements here are notable. The king who is blessed by the Muses has the discernment to make his ordinances (*themistas*) correctly. He stands out (μετὰ δὲ πρέπει) among his people because of his gifts, just as Aeschylus' brilliant dynasts stand out (ἐμπρέποντας) in the assembly of stars, just as gold stands out (διαπρέπει), and just as Hieron is preeminent. As in *Olympian* 1 kings are linked with poets, and as in the *Iliad* passage considered above, the job of the good king is to speak wisely (an important message of the Hieron odes). Once again, kings are closely linked with Zeus. Both kings and poets employ the gifts of the Muses, but the authorizing power of kings comes from Zeus and is exercised in the political arena. Both in Hesiod and in Pindar, then, the king "glories in the peak of the Muses." We may also, perhaps, conclude that the arrival of poets at the blessed hearth of Hieron in order to sing of the son of Kronos recalls the journey of the Muses toward Zeus on Olympos (*Theog*. 71–73), where they sing of the achievements of the immortals and their father, who has distributed good laws and prerogatives.

As Richard Martin has shown, the *Theogony* passage is a reflex of a broader genre of "instruction to princes," one that has Indo-European roots. The genre presents advice given by a king or an advisor to a prince, and it is characterized in Greek literature by three elements: the good king is a faultless speaker, the good king both receives and operates with respect (*aidōs*), and he is the object of people's gaze (the people will sometimes look on the good king "like a god"). The king's appropriate verbal behavior (the "ruler's truth") ensures the prosperity of the people and land.[34] The pictures of the just and the unjust cities in *Works and Days* illustrate this emphasis on justice. The just city is fruitful, fortunate, and prosperous (225–237), but when a bad man sins, the whole city can suffer for him: famine, plague, and defeat in battle (238–47). "The people pay for the mad folly of their princes," declares Hesiod, "who, evilly minded, pervert judgment and give sentence crookedly. Keep watch against this, you princes, and make straight your judgments" (260–64). Moreover, it seems clear that in this Indo-European model the authoritative speech of the poet is parallel to that of the king, a situation very similar to what we find at the beginning of *Olympian* 1.[35] Thus Pindar, as his poem opens, has carefully integrated and transformed Homeric and Hesiodic motifs of the divine authority and preeminence of kings, motifs that themselves have a

[34] Martin 1984: 32–34.

[35] Martin 1984: 35. Ledbetter (2003: 50) writes that Hesiod compares the poet to a king, but perhaps this inverts the comparison. Hesiod compares the king to a poet in order to magnify the poet's authority (we should remember that the Muses give Hesiod a staff of authority).

long Indo-European tradition: the connection of kings with judicious and effective speech, and the congregation of the wise at the banquet of the monarch. The dominant element in the Pindaric epinician is that the wise congregate to celebrate and praise the king, but the political model that he has activated remains foundational.

Once we are aware of the background to Pindar's evocation of the good king, we can appreciate the subtlety with which he has activated the motif. Take, for example, the expectation that the land of the good king will be prosperous. If prosperity and agricultural bounty are a result of just rule, we can read lines 12–13 more richly. Hieron "wields the scepter of justice in Sicily with its rich flocks, plucking the finest flower of every excellence." The fertility of Sicily was proverbial, and it is easy to read the line as standard praise of the homeland, but there may also be the implication that Sicily is fertile because a just king rules there, particularly given the proximity of the fertility motif to the scepter of justice. The language that makes Hieron "stand out" in the proem corresponds to the "looking on" motif, wherein the good king is the object of everyone's gaze. A good king's speech is not only just but judicious and characterized by *aidōs*. Given the reciprocity of king and poet we can conclude that the speech of his poet will be equally judicious and respectful. Appropriate speech is well received by the audience; it creates grace (*charis)*, and Martin quotes *Olympian* 1.30–32 to document the connection of *charis* with the honey-sweetness he associates with *aidōs*.[36] One could go even further. The quoted passage from *Olympian* 1, where *charis* produces all that is sweet for mortals, is (as we shall see) in fact Pindar's first foray toward rejecting the myth of Tantalos' cannibalistic banquet. When Pindar rejects the story explicitly, he does so because he cannot bear to speak ill of the gods: "I stand aloof. The lot of those who speak evil is often loss" (52–53). We see, therefore, the king's poet conduct himself with the same restraint and respect that characterize the just king, and his *aidōs* reflects on his patron.

Victory and Power

As I stated above, the call for the Dorian lyre in line 17 marks the moment when Pindar turns to the victory itself and its immediate result: the horse Pherenikos rushed along the course without need for the goad "and mingled his master with power, the king of Syracuse who delights in horses" (22–23). The analysis of *Pythian* 2 in the preceding chapter has

[36] Martin 1984: 45 n. 35.

already shown that the idea of the "prick" or the "goad" (*kentron*) could be associated with tyrants and tyranny. That Pherenikos does not need the goad (*akentēton)* both emphasizes his excellence and eagerness and makes him a model for the harmonious nature of royal control. The words "the king of Syracuse who delights in horses," placed emphatically at the beginning of the epode, fulfill the promise of the earlier description of Hieron wielding his scepter and give added weight to the conceit that the horse "mingled his master with power."[37] Power (*kratos*) may well be an unexceptional Pindaric periphrasis for victory,[38] but, as I have suggested previously, we should realize that epinician topoi are reanimated by a particular victory situation. Mingling or associating someone with power means something different when applied to Hieron than it does when it is applied to an Athenian or Aiginetan aristocrat. It seems clear that there is an association between victory in the games and power, both political and military; such victory could precede or follow the assumption of or attempt to seize rule.[39] Hieron is a monarch who exercises power and who, as we have seen, was only one of a group of western rulers to reinforce his position by participation in panhellenic equestrian contests.[40] The very coinage of his city recalled such contests. When Pindar tells us that the tyrant's horse has mingled him with power, there is every reason to take him seriously.

Before we move on to the myth itself, we should pause to consider briefly one final resonance of the presentation of Hieron, this time in the line immediately preceding the opening of the myth. The result of his victory is that his *kleos* shines in the "colony of Lydian Pelops" (24), that is, the Peloponnese, Pelops' island. This is a striking formulation, and because the word "colony" (*apoikia*) is the last word before the relative pronoun (referring to Pelops) that opens the myth, it casts a strong shadow over the upcoming narrative and marks Pelops' activities as a colonial enterprise. Even after the fall of the Deinomenid and Emmenid tyrannies, Pelops would remain a popular hero in Sicily and one evocative of chariot victory. Coins of Himera dating to the 450s feature him, explicitly labeled, together with a chariot and pair of horses.[41] If Caterina Greco is correct to see the statue of the

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[37] Mann 2001: 254 sees ἱπποχάρμαν as Homeric, and there is indeed an epic feel here. Pindar's compound (guaranteed by the meter) is not Homer's (where we find ἱππιοχάρμης with the probable meaning "fighting with/from horses"), but it is likely an epic reference is intended. For discussion, see Gerber 1982: 49.

[38] Gerber 1982: 47.

[39] Catenacci 1992; Kurke 1993: 133–137.

[40] See Chapter 2; Nicosia 1990.

[41] Arnold-Biucchi 1988.

Motya youth as representing Pelops, this would be powerful confirmation of the hero's popularity in Sicily.[42] But whether Pindar is creating or reflecting Pelops' popularity on the island, the introduction to the myth is calculated to reflect Hieron's particular situation.[43] He too is an inhabitant of an island that was the object of colonial expansion; indeed, even more so, since in Pindar's picture Pelops was a single colonizer and not part of an organized movement of population. Lines 12–13 associated (generously) Hieron's rule with Sicily as a whole.

Hieron is, moreover, the "king" of a city that was a colonial foundation and that had recently been "refounded" by his elder brother Gelon, who was buried near Syracuse and who enjoyed posthumous cult honors there. We saw in Chapter 2 that Gelon's early coinage in Syracuse probably featured the Alpheos in an allusion to the legendary connection of Syracuse to Olympia via the river Alpheos and the spring Arethusa. As R. Drew Griffith has observed, the victory of Pherenikos "by the Alpheos" and Pelops' tomb there reemphasizes for a knowledgeable audience the special "colonial" connection between the two locations.[44] Moreover, probably in the same year as this victory, Hieron was to engage in a drastic bout of population management, refounding the city of Katane as Aitna. As we saw in Chapter 2, he was buried there and enjoyed the cult of an oikist. So too, in lines 90–94, Pelops enjoys posthumous cult, as a hero associated with the games. These later lines close the structural ring that Pindar opens in line 23, resuming the vocabulary of *kleos*, which now belongs to Pelops and "shines far" from the site of the games.[45] It is uncertain at what precise point Hieron's city was founded, but Hieron's ambitions for city foundation probably preceded any real application of them (see Chapter 2), and it is possible that plans for the new city of Aitna will have been well advanced and equally well known. Even before the myth begins, the material that precedes it has created a context of victory, royalty, and colonial foundation into which both Hieron and Pelops will be subsumed.

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[42] See Chapter 2, note 67.

[43] Mullen 1982: 167; Drew Griffith 1991: 34, n. 17; Athanassaki 2003: 121.

[44] Drew Griffith 2008: 5.

[45] Köhnken 1974: 200; Lefkowitz 1976: 92–93 (as she notes, Pelops is celebrated in the *dromois* (94), where Pherenikos won his race). Sicking (1983: 69) suggests that Hieron's potential victory in a future chariot race would make him a kind of second "founder" of the games, a possibility that would be reinforced if Hieron were a contributor to the building of the temple of Olympian Zeus in the sanctuary. I imagine, however, that if Hieron were a contributor to the temple building, Pindar or (more probably) Bacchylides would have mentioned it, and it does not seem plausible that a chariot victory (especially a potential one) would endow a victor with foundational status at the games.

Legends of the Fall

The myth itself, one of Pindar's most complex and splendid, begins at line 25 and occupies most of the remainder of the ode. In what follows I shall read it as an exploration of the problematic status of supremely fortunate mortals, an issue that is particularly relevant to Hieron as monarch. If *Pythian* 2 focused on the threat of sexual transgression by a mortal who enjoyed a privileged existence with the gods, *Olympian* 1 turns instead to dietary transgression, whether expressed as cannibalism or as the gift of divine nourishment to inappropriate mortals. As Thomas Hubbard has observed, a proper appreciation of the importance of myths and cooking and sacrifice and of their Hesiodic background is important for the understanding of the myth.[46] The myth refracts Hieron's sympotic table of friendship from the first antistrophe, conjuring both the tyrant's excessive or cannibalistic banquet and the potential perils of an egalitarian symposium before culminating with Pelops' cult symposium by the Alpheos. The poet uses these motifs of feasting and hospitality (as well as their Hesiodic resonance) to investigate a boundary between mortality and immortality that was once permeable, presenting to Hieron and to us a picture of what happens when the arrogance of a favored mortal runs amok. Hieron's well-regulated symposium avoids these dangers, which serve both as negative paradigm and as aetiology for a state of affairs where even a king can go only so far. At the same time, Pindar's expert juggling of two versions of the Pelops myth allows him to develop another aspect of the perils of divine favor: the role of the "jealous" in generating negative publicity. Pindar's intervention in the narrative of Pelops, at least as he presents it, is a studied exercise in the analysis of tyrannical mythmaking.

The Perils of Narrative

The opening of the myth mingles both familiar and unfamiliar elements of his story, reporting that Poseidon felt desire for Pelops when Klotho removed him from a pure cauldron, distinguished by an ivory shoulder. When the poet pursues this narrative nine lines later, he will reject the mainstream version of the myth in which Tantalos tested the power of the gods by offering them his own son to eat. In that version none of the gods were deceived except Demeter (her mind occupied by thoughts of Persephone), who took a bite out of his shoulder. They punished

[46] Hubbard 1987.

Tantalos' impiety and reconstituted Pelops with an ivory prosthetic shoulder. Pindar will substitute instead an account in which Pelops is swept off to Olympos to serve as Poseidon's *erōmenos* and Tantalos' crime is to pass on to his mortal drinking companions the food of the gods with which they had made him immortal. Much scholarly energy has been spent on deciding which version of the story is or is not implied by that first line. Poseidon's passion for Pelops was probably Pindar's own invention, but the reference to the cauldron would immediately have reminded his audience of the famed cannibalistic banquet.[47] At a first glance, then, Pindar is saying that the rape of Pelops occurred after he was brought back to life.[48] Yet by qualifying the cauldron as "pure," Pindar indicates that new ethical forces are at work in the world of the myth. The cauldron of revivification, as opposed to the cannibalistic cauldron, is pure, but Pindar will also purify the myth of improper additions.[49] The introductory sentence accommodates both versions of the myth. It seems at first to conform to the cannibalistic version, but in retrospect we can understand it (if we choose) as part of the purified version.

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[47] On the significance of the paederastic element in the myth, see section "Sexual Dynamics". Hansen 2000 (also Hubbard 1987: 5 with 16 n. 2; cf. Davidson 2003: 101–105) argues that scholars are misguided in accepting the suggestion that Pindar invented the version of the myth he supports in which Pelops receives aid from the god Poseidon in order to win his bride. In a thorough discussion of the international story of the "bride won in a tournament," Hansen shows that many of the various elements of the Pelops and Hippodameia story, both within Pindar and without, can be traced back to an oral narrative in which a generous young man receives supernatural aid to win his bride, whom he is then asked to share with his helper. The parallels are strong, and yet it is fallacious, I believe, to argue that, because a version of the myth in which Pelops received divine help may predate Pindar, this necessarily implies that the story of the paederastic love affair predates Pindar. The Chest of Kypselos in the sanctuary at Olympia showed the horses of Pelops with wings, and Hansen (35–36) is correct to point out that this implies supernatural aid, but it does not clinch the case for sexual relations between mortal and god. A god may have many reasons for honoring a mortal other than sexual favors (although they do help). Hansen has proved the existence of *a* "Poseidon version" (or perhaps a "divine help" version), but not that Pindar did not invent his version, as he specifically tells us he did (*O.* 1.36). Why would Pindar make such a fuss over his version if his primacy could be contested by any oral storyteller (note the climactic placement of the rape at the transition from the second strophe to the antistrophe)? For the scanty contemporary evidence on Poseidon as paederastic lover in art (there is no prior literary tradition), see Krummen 1990: 185–186; for the possible influence of Hittite models, see 206–207.

[48] I read ἐπεί in line 26 as temporal, notwithstanding the objections of Köhnken 1983 (who restates the case for causal ἐπεί). See Gerber 1982: 55–56 for discussion. Despite the qualification of the cauldron as "pure," I do not see how a first-time audience of the myth would have been able to tell at this point that Pindar was not narrating the traditional version (so Burgess 1993: 36).

[49] On Pindar's "technique of piety" see Walsh 1984; cf. Mackie 2003: 22–27 on fear of divine displeasure. See also Köhnken 1974: 206, who rightly comments that the poet's religious motivation is a "poetical pretence" by which Pindar justifies changing the myth to make it more suitable for Hieron. On the "pure" cauldron, see further Slater 1989: 498–501.

The mention of the cauldron, together with its implications for the myth that is about to commence, leads the poet to examine the role of grace or charm in narrative verisimilitude (28–34). Marvels there are, but mortals embellish them and go beyond the truth, and in this process *charis* plays an important part. Pindar must be referring, in part, to the power of poetry to lend credence to the tales it promulgates.[50] It is notable, however, that there is no specific mention here of poets, but rather of "mortal speech" (βροτῶν φάτις). The audience is thus encouraged to generalize. It is true that the concepts of *charis* and ornamented variegation bring poetry to mind, but ordinary mortals too, not only poets, embellish their speech and tell lies. Thus it is that one and a half stanzas later, a jealous neighbor (not a poet) invents the lying story of the cannibalistic banquet. This detail functions to bring up the all-important question of motive and makes it clear that poetic tradition crystallizes the report of men. This can, in turn, lead to an inaccurate and blameworthy tradition when the report is false or instigated by negative motives.[51]

The same combination of mortal inaccuracy and credibility imposed by poetic charm characterizes the situation in *Nemean* 7. There, as part of an opening meditation on the necessity for achievement to be matched with song, the poet declares that Odysseus' reputation was greater than his actual experience "because of Homer's sweet words, since something reverend rests upon his falsehoods and winged skill. Cleverness deceives and leads people astray through tales (*muthoi*)" (20–23). Pindar then remarks that the majority of men have a blind heart, for if they could see the truth, Ajax would not have killed himself in rage over not being awarded the arms of Achilles (23–27). Here too we have an original act of mortal misjudgment, but not one that is attributed to poetic mendacity. Rather, the poet (in this case Homer) takes up a tradition (in this case the tradition that overvalued Odysseus and resulted in the award of the arms to him) and makes it authoritative through his talents.[52] It takes the skill of a Pindar to perceive the truth and restore fame to its rightful owners. In *Nemean* 7, he does this by coming to the aid of Neoptolemos, in *Olympian* 1, by telling a different tale about

[50] Gerber 1982: 59–60.

[51] See Steiner 2002 for the generic implications of dietary transgression. She shows how analogies between greed and gluttony and iambic poetry inform the ode. *Gastrimargia* "characterizes the individual who is low-class, vulgar, or simply unable to control his appetites" (2002: 298). Such a greedy individual is precisely the type of person who will be a calumnist and iambic composer and who devours his symbolic food in an animalistic or cannibalistic fashion. In this reading the jealous neighbor fashions a lying story that projects onto the gods his own greed and insatiability for the wrong kind of discourse.

[52] For similar conclusions on *O.* 1, *N.* 7, and *N.* 8, emerging from a study of the relationship of oral tradition to poetic authority, see Scodel 2001: 127–131. See also Morgan 2008: 41–52.

Pelops. In neither poem is the precise relationship between incorrect poetic tradition and mortal speech clarified. Indeed, in *Olympian* 1 it is obscured by placing "mortal speech" and "tales (*muthoi*) adorned with variegated lies" in apposition to each other.[53] In *Nemean* 7, we are not told the motive for the false reports, but this can be supplied both from *Olympian* 1, where a jealous neighbor starts the rumor of a cannibalistic banquet, and from *Nemean* 8.21–34, where we are told that jealousy caused Ajax's death. Indeed, the threat that jealousy will obscure outstanding achievement makes it the "paradigmatic concept" for blameworthy emotions and behavior in the odes.[54]

Poetry and nonpoetic mortal speech are therefore complicit. This comes as no surprise; if there were no complicity, there would be no point in hiring a poet to sing one's praises, no need for the poet to disclaim both bad will and flattering intentions. What is interesting with respect to tyrant odes, however, is that the model of jealousy felt toward athletic victors elides other reasons for jealousy. Monarchic rule was, after all, the object par excellence of jealousy and was itself characterized by jealousy. In *Olympian* 1 divine favor shown to a royal family generates false narratives and motivates Pindar's treatment of charm, deceptive speech, and jealousy.[55] The reaction of the jealous neighbor to good fortune by inventing cannibalistic myth shows that we are dealing not only with heroic figures of myth but with the ordinary people who surround them and react to them. Implicit here is the problem of the reaction of the tyrant's (Hieron's) subjects to his rule. Jealousy becomes a political issue, and thus the system of epinician topoi is brought into the realm of political speech.

The invention of a cannibalistic banquet because of jealousy shown toward favored individuals resonates particularly strongly in a Sicilian monarchic context. I surveyed briefly in Chapter 3 the development of tyrannical stereotypes in the fifth and fourth centuries, including that of

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[53] See Gerber (1982: 61–62) for the construction here. On my reading, the perceived difficulty that "speech" (*phatis*) and "tales" (*muthoi*) are not synonymous disappears, since the apposition is designed to suggest, but not specify, a connection. See Mackie 2003: 16–22, 67–71 for more on the relationship between myth, poetry, and rumor.

[54] Bulman 1992: 3, 8 (for *phthonos* in *N*. 8, see 37–55).

[55] It is perhaps not without significance that by the late fifth century, the crime of Tantalos was defined (imprecisely) by Euripides as having a "licentious tongue" (ἀκόλαστον . . . γλῶσσαν, *Or.* 10) although he had the honor of sharing a table with the gods. The representation of Tantalos in the *Orestes* may probably, as Willink (1983: 31) argues, have been influenced by contemporary stereotypes of sophistic intellectual impiety, but the close juxtaposition in four consecutive lines of Pindar's refusal to speak ill of the gods, his comment that profitlessness is the lot of evil speakers, and the sad statement that the gods had honored Tantalos above all others suggests that even in Pindar's time Tantalos' tongue may have run away with him. The powerful position of the monarch means that his speech carries unusual risks (as we shall see at *P*. 1.87) and can therefore provoke dangerous reactions.

Phalaris of Akragas, who eventually attracted to himself stories of cannibalism and of casting victims into boiling cauldrons. Both Homer and Hesiod conceive corrupt kingship in terms of transgressive eating: we might think of Agamemnon as a "devourer of the people" at *Iliad* 1.231 and Hesiod's gift-devouring kings at *Works and Days* 38–39. For Plato, as we saw, tyrants have a general tendency toward sexual and dietary transgression (including cannibalism). The lying story of the jealous neighbor in *Olympian* 1 may well, then, be a tyrannical stereotype.[56]

We might also suspect that the lengthy description of the cannibalistic banquet at lines 48–51 would have reminded a contemporary audience of Sicily's (and especially Syracuse's) reputation for luxurious and gourmandizing banquets.[57] The possibly spurious *Seventh Letter* of Plato tells how the philosopher first visited the island in the reign of Dionysius I. He was, he tells us, amazed at the sensual decadence of the court and its devotion to "what is called there the 'happy life,' full of Italian and Syracusan tables, to live filling oneself up twice a day and never sleeping alone at night" (326b). In *Republic* Book 3 Socrates discuss the diet of the Guardians. There is to be no fish, no boiled meat, only roasted meat. There will be no sweet desserts either, which causes his interlocutor to observe "you don't, as it seems, approve of a 'Syracusan table' and a Sicilian variety of relish?" (*Resp.* 404d). "I do not," says Socrates, and he goes on to ban Attic pastries and Corinthian *hetairai* and to map corrupting food onto corrupting modes of lyric poetry. Sicily is the home of extravagant banquets and complicated food.

Syracuse's own Epicharmus provides us with good evidence for Sicilian obsession with food contemporary with Hieron. Food and eating are frequent subjects in surviving fragments. His *Hope or Wealth* contains the earliest known examples of the comic parasite, and another fragment features that staple of later comedy, the cook. The gods in his plays are portrayed as eating mortal foods. His *Muses or The Marriage of Hebe* gave a long list of fish to be eaten at a divine banquet. John Wilkins comments on this list that "there is nothing in the divine meal which would appear to cause surprise if served at the table of one of the Sicilian elite."[58] Not only was lavish banqueting subject to comic parody in Hieron's day but, as we saw in Chapter 3, Epicharmus seems to have alluded to Pindar's rewriting of Tantalos' cannibalistic banquet in *Logos and Logina* (Fr. 76

[56] See also O'Sullivan 2005: 128–134 for an argument that Polyphemos in Euripides' *Cyclops* is a Sicilian tyrant figure characterized by incontinence and cannibalism.
[57] Cf. Worman 2008: 125 n. 14 and Wilkins 2000: 312–368.
[58] Wilkins 2000: 320, 326.

PCG), punning on Pindar's *eranos* (*O.* 1.38) and confusing it with serving a crane (*geranos*) as an outlandish dinner dish. This background makes the description of the cooking of Pelops in Pindar particularly pointed. The story is that "they cut you with a knife limb from limb, into the might of water, boiling with fire, and that at the tables they divided up your meat during the last course (ἀμφὶ δεύτατα) and ate you." Athenaeus, quoting this passage (14.641c), seems to have read δεύτερα here—a safe assumption because the quotation occurs in his discussion of the "second table" (*deutera trapeza*), and he uses Pindar to prove that the ancients had the "second table" just as they did in his day.[59] The second table was the dessert stage of the meal, nibbles eaten during the symposium. These foods, as Wilkins tells us, often comprise fruit and nuts but can also include cakes and such savory dishes as sow's womb and birds.[60] Pelops was therefore served as a sympotic savory course. For commentators such as Karl Friederichs, this adds to the horror of the description.[61] The nibbles at the end of the meal come when everyone is quite full, and this would give additional point to calling the gods "gluttons." Since Pelops is young and tender, and therefore sweet, he would have been especially appetizing.

The excesses of a tyrant's table would later become a commonplace. One of the classic descriptions of this phenomenon is, as luck would have it, Xenophon's *Hieron*, a conversation between Hieron and the poet Simonides on the varied miseries of the tyrannical life. As the dialogue proceeds, the interlocutors talk about banqueting and the inaccuracy of the popular perception that tyrants enjoy their food more than ordinary people do. Hieron asks Simonides whether he has observed all the gastronomic specialty dishes that are put before tyrants—acid and bitter and astringent foods and so on. What are these foods other than the desires of a weak and ailing soul? (1.22–24) This discussion takes for granted the jaded and insatiable appetite of the tyrant, and it also assumes "a reference to the sophistication of Sicilian gastronomy."[62] Greed, insatiability, and the appetite for unusual food are, increasingly in the Classical period, tyrannical topoi. Tantalos' banquet table (in the rejected version of *Olympian* 1) is overdetermined as an image of horror and excess and stands as a hyperbolic contrast both to the lawful banquet of Pindar's preferred version and to Hieron's table of friendship in the opening triad.

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[59] Gerber 1982: 86.
[60] Wilkins 2000: 40 n. 58.
[61] Friederichs 1863: 5–6; Gerber 1982: 87.
[62] Gray 2007: 114.

The Perils of Commensality

The connection of Pelops' emergence from the cauldron in line 26 with the material on narrative charm and verisimilitude in the lines that follow remains unclear at first, although the gnomic statement at 35, "it is fitting for a man to say fine things about the gods, for the blame is less," indicates a discomfort with the cannibalistic version of the myth. This becomes explicit when Pindar makes a fresh start with an unprecedented second-person address to Pelops, his mythological focus, in line 36. He says that he will tell a Pelops narrative that differs from previous versions. Greed on the part of the gods, jealous neighbors—all are deprecated. The cannibalistic banquet is replaced with a version that stresses that the kidnapping of Pelops occurred at a "most lawful" banquet (*eranon*) and as part of a series of hospitable exchanges. Tantalos was providing to the gods "meals in exchange" (ἀμοιβαῖα . . . δεῖπνα, 39). As Gerber points out, an *eranos* is a meal offered in return for a service or expecting such a service in return, and it is part of a network of reciprocity. In lines 54–64 we learn that Tantalos improperly extended this network. He was the most blessed of mortal men, to such an extent that he had banqueted with the gods, eaten their food and drink, and become immortal thereby. Moreover, when he invited them to dinner, they came, and Poseidon transported his son to Olympus to meet an immortal fate. These were extraordinary events; the worlds of gods and mortals were separate, and Pindar usually insists on this division. Yet in the world of the myth, this separation is considerably diminished: both Tantalos and Pelops dine with gods and become either immortal or almost so.[63]

Yet even into this ideal world of divine favor, misfortune comes. It has two sources. I have already mentioned the jealous neighbors, but far more important is Tantalos' sin, which is, characteristically, expressed in dietary terms. He could not *digest* (*katapepsai*) his good fortune, and being overfull resulted in a satiety that brought ruin. The ruin itself is a dietary sin: Tantalos gave the nectar and ambrosia of the gods to his fellow symposiasts. Clearly, Tantalos' social calendar was not restricted to divine occasions. He attended not only exchange dinners (*eranoi*) with the gods but symposia with men of his own age (ἁλίκεσσι συμπόταις), and he attempted to transfer the food and drink of the former to the latter, a disastrous category error that is worth examining in some detail. At his dinners with the gods, Tantalos was clearly not on an equal footing with his dining companions, even if they did make

[63] Lefkowitz 1976: 84, 86; Hubbard 1987: 9.

him immortal. He was always inferior. Even this status of modified inferiority with respect to the gods, however, is better than most mortals can expect. For Tantalos, correct behavior would be both to recognize that he has been set apart from other men and is superior to them, and to respect the gap that still separates him from the gods. Instead, he tries to repeat the gesture of divine favor within the world of the symposium, ignoring distinctions between men and gods and earning an endless torment conceived as the absence of festivity that would normally accompany feasting and drinking: he "wanders away from good cheer" (*euphrosunais*, 58—a term that is, as Bundy points out, standard for the victory revel).[64] Tantalos' sin, then, is that he transgresses proper hierarchies, claiming and distributing an undeserved equality. Yet in terms of human codes of commensality, Tantalos has done very little wrong. Whether at a symposium or a sacrificial banquet, giving equal shares to all participants was an important aspect of the meal. The table of *xenia* is part of a "system of exchanges between men of the same rank."[65] Sacrificial distribution was seen as an expression of community and a mirror of social order.[66] There were political circles in the Greek world where treating all as equals and giving them equal shares might have been considered a virtue.[67] But not, of course, where the gods are concerned. Tantalos' ideology is simply not equal to the demands of the situation. The cannibalistic myth is thus replaced by a picture of reciprocal commensality gone awry. Instead of offering the gods something that was beneath them, Tantalos offered his companions something that was above them. Pindar conforms to the principal of not speaking badly of the gods, but he does much more than that. He paints a picture of a favored mortal who does not understand (cannot digest) the nature of his position, and here he is looking to Hieron and constructing for him a negative exemplar that speaks directly to the problems of kingship.[68]

Pelops, of course, is the corresponding positive model, and his excellence and subsequent reward are couched in terms that resume the banqueting imagery. After Pelops has been returned to the "swift-fated race of men" (66), we hear nothing more of him until he begins manhood and plans his marriage. When he makes his request to Poseidon on the seashore, he asks whether the

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[64] Bundy 1986: 2; Slater 1989: 491.

[65] Schmitt-Pantel 1990: 23.

[66] Schmitt-Pantel 1990: 21; Seaford 2004: 76.

[67] Cf. Burgess 1993: 42; Steiner 2002: 307 n. 35. Another way of thinking about this is to recall Leslie Kurke's powerful vision (1991) of the task of epinician: to reintegrate the athlete back into his community after a victory that has separated him from it. The victor is presented as a civic benefactor and absorbed back into the body politic. This is—in a sense—just a version of Tantalos' error. He was a high-status member of his community singled out for special treatment. He attempted to share the fruits of his success with his community but was eternally punished.

[68] Sicking (1983: 62, 67–68) curiously plays down the relevance of the Tantalos paradigm.

gifts of Aphrodite result in *charis* (to be translated here as "gratitude"[69]). His prayer is thus set explicitly in the framework of reciprocal exchange and conformity to an idealized paederastic paradigm whereby the lover is expected to care for the interests of his young beloved even after the relationship has come to an end.[70] Pelops's request also echoes what must have been Hieron's own hope with respect to his future participation in the chariot race (to which Pindar will refer at the end of the ode): "transport me to Elis on the swiftest chariot, and bring me close to victory/power."[71] The wording "bring me close to victory/power" (κράτει δὲ πέλασον, 78), moreover, is a reminiscence of Pindar's earlier statement that Pherenikos "mingled his master [Hieron] with victory/power" (κράτει δὲ προσέμειξε δεσπόταν, 22). Pelops too will be "mingled," at 90–91, this time with "glorious blood offerings," as presiding hero of the games, a heroic status to which Hieron can only, as yet, aspire.[72]

When the young hero describes his motives for risking his life to win his bride, he uses words that renew the cooking theme: Since it is necessary to die, "why should one sit in the darkness and vainly boil down a nameless old age?" (82–83)[73] There will be no rebirth for Pelops. He will not emerge from the cauldron a second time. Rather, he will have an immortality of fame and cult.[74] Indeed, as Lefkowitz has observed, Pelops' shrine at Olympia is characterized in terms that recall Hieron's triumphs. His tomb is much visited and is next to Zeus' altar, which also "welcomes many strangers" (93), just as in the beginning of the poem many poets come to the hearth of Hieron. The blood offerings to Pelops resume the motif of the earlier banquets.[75] Even more crucially, Pelops is pictured as reclining (*klitheis*, 92) by the side of the Alpheos, vocabulary that must surely

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[69] Gerber 1982: 119–120.

[70] Cairns 1977; Krummen 1990: 186–188.

[71] Cf. Krummen 1990: 203; Köhnken 1974: 203, 205.

[72] On the possible significance of mingling vocabulary, see Lefkowitz 1976: 80. For potential similarities between Pelops and the epinician speaker, see Felson 1984.

[73] Gerber (1982: 128–129) is skeptical about the resumption of cooking imagery here and the connection with καταπέψαι in line 55, but although the connection is loose, I do not find it implausible that vainly boiling down one's old age is part of a system of cooking imagery (so also Lefkowitz 1976: 90; Newman and Newman 1984: 154), especially given the mythological model of the cauldron of rebirth. This cauldron is reflected in the story of Medea's rejuvenation, in a cauldron, of an aged ram into a young one, and her (purposely) vain attempt to do the same for the wretched Pelias (Hubbard 1987: 12). Hubbard (11–12) and Brillante 1991 (who usefully collects examples of mythological attempts to render children immortal) suggest that Pindar is working with a version of the myth in which Tantalos tries to render Pelops immortal by boiling him in a cauldron. I cannot agree, despite the structural similarities with other myths of immortalization. Attempted deception and impiety, not immortalization, explain Tantalos' traditional punishment.

[74] See Segal 1964: 218 for the important distinction between heroic and divine cult.

[75] Lefkowitz 1976: 92.

bring to mind the symposium.[76] There are, then, three sets of symposia in the poem: those hosted by Hieron at his court, the subversive symposium of Tantalos, and Pelops' metaphorical cult symposium by the Alpheos (linked to Syracuse by the mingled waters of Alpheos and Arethusa, as we saw above). There are also at least two banquets: the rejected cannibalistic feast, and the orderly *eranos* whence Poseidon stole Pelops. We may also add another, implicit banquet: the one at which Pindar's ode is being performed.[77] Taken together, they form an extensive presentation of the possibilities of mortal bliss and disaster that runs from the mythological past to a hoped-for future.

The collocation at the end of the myth of an altar, sacrifice, feasting, and the question of the respective shares of gods and men returns us to Hesiodic themes. I argued above that lines 12–15, on the happy collocation of justice and music in the halls of Hieron, look to *Theogony* 81–96. There we see the result of divine cooperation in the administration of monarchy, and indeed, this happy result is sketched again at the close of the myth as Pelops receives divine aid, and in the end, heroic cult. Yet many features of the myth have reminded us that this harmonious hierarchy has been called into question in the past and that the outcome was an end to prior closeness between gods and men. To be sure, this closeness applied only to the outstandingly favored, but even so the sin of Tantalos brought it to an end and Pelops was sent back down to earth. As Hubbard has remarked, Tantalos' feasts in the poem mark a Pindaric appropriation of Hesiod's account of the sacrifice at Mekone at *Theogony* 534–613.[78] Like Tantalos' feasts, the account is foundational for the relationship of gods and men in its poem. When gods and men were being "distinguished" at Mekone,[79] Prometheus tried to deceive the mind of Zeus by dividing up an ox unfairly. He placed the meat and entrails (the good portion) in a stomach, put the bones (the bad

[76] Slater (1989: 491–493) shows how, in the ancient imagination, a dead hero could be pictured as recumbent at a feast and suggests that Pindar is alluding to a cult sacrifice to Pelops where the hero was imagined to share table fellowship with his worshippers. For Slater, the prominence of feasting in the poem is explained by the need to create a parallel between Pelops and Hieron as the recipients (real and potential) of heroic cult. Although this is fundamental, we must also acknowledge the importance of the banquet as a device for creating and perpetuating proper hierarchies. Krummen (1990: 164) points out the significant ambiguity of *klitheis*: it refers both to reclining at a symposium and to lying dead.

[77] For further comments on the importance of banquet imagery in the poem, see Krummen 1990: 164–166, 199, 208–210; Slater 1977: 200. Steiner 2002 successfully sets the imagery in a broader frame of transgressive appetites and poetic decorum. Athanassaki 2009: 262 remarks that "in the mythical narrative of the *First Olympian* sympotic manners are the touchstone of the *ethos* of the protagonists."

[78] Hubbard 1987: 10–11.

[79] Hes. *Theog*. 535–536: ὅτ' ἐκρίνοντο θεοὶ θνητοί τ' ἄνθρωποι Μηκώνῃ.

portion) under a layer of fat, and then offered Zeus the choice of portions. In Hesiod's account, Zeus is not deceived but still chooses the inferior portion, plotting evils for mortals. In revenge, Zeus withholds fire from mankind and, after Prometheus steals this, makes Pandora to be a curse to men. The moral of the story? "It is not possible to deceive or get past the mind of Zeus" (ὣς οὐκ ἔστι Διὸς κλέψαι νόον οὐδὲ παρελθεῖν, 613).

As has often been observed, the story of the division of the ox at Mekone is an *aition* for Greek sacrificial practice, in which men feasted on the meat of the ox after the sacrifice and burned the bones for the gods. Prometheus' intervention ensures that men will receive the best portion, but it also explains the hostility of Zeus toward mankind and (in Hesiod's version) the impossibility of tricking the gods. Prometheus learns to his cost that it is not possible to deceive Zeus, as an eagle daily consumes his immortal liver. The division of the ox permanently separates the world of men from that of the gods; one interpretation of this division is that prior to it, gods and men dined together.[80] Be that as it may, it is certainly the case that the division marks a new episode in mortal–immortal relations in which the former make life difficult for the latter. This life will be characterized by toil, sexual reproduction, and the inescapable mingling of good and evil in human life. How, then, do the banquets of Tantalos replay these themes?[81] The rejected cannibalistic banquet assumes a situation where man and god sit at the same table and eat the same food. Like Prometheus, Tantalos tries to trick the gods into taking a portion that is not as it seems. The stew in the cauldron is human flesh. The gods, however, like Zeus in the *Theogony*, are not deceived (if one ignores the case of the grieving Demeter) and ultimately condemn the trickster to eternal punishment.[82] In some versions of the myth, this punishment consisted of being (aptly) tormented by eternal hunger and thirst as fruit and water forever recede from his reach.

In Pindar's preferred version, as we have seen, the banquet theme is retained and once again gods and men share the same table. In light of Pindar's insistence that no god should be called a glutton, it is perhaps unsurprising that nothing is said about meat. We hear only of nectar and ambrosia and it is unclear (because unmentioned) what Tantalos served the gods at his most lawful banquet. His transgression, "deceiving" the immortals by stealing their food for his companions, parallels Prometheus' in that Prometheus

[80] As in Hesiod fr. 1.6–7 Merkelbach and West.
[81] Cf. Brillante 1991: 19 ("la sua colpa . . . è di tipo prometeico"), who does not, however, develop this theme.
[82] Hubbard 1987: 11.

thinks he can cheat the gods in order to give mortals a better share than that which should, by rights, have been theirs. Moreover, just as Prometheus steals fire, Tantalos steals nectar and ambrosia. Neither goes undetected or unpunished, and Pindar picks up the Hesiodic tag "So it is not possible to deceive or get past the mind of Zeus" (ὣς οὐκ ἔστι Διὸς κλέψαι νόον οὐδὲ παρελθεῖν, *Theogony* 613; cf. *Works and Days* 105) at line 64, "But if a man hopes to act unnoticed by god, he errs" (εἰ δὲ θεὸν ἀνήρ τις ἔλπεταί <τι> λαθέμεν ἔρδων, ἁμαρτάνει). The repercussions of Tantalos' sin are also reminiscent of a post-Mekone and post-Pandora world. Pelops, instead of living at ease on Olympus, must descend to the earth (his dismissal "sundering the divine and mortal realms," as Hubbard puts it[83]) and secure his future by winning a bride (immortality replaced by sexual reproduction) and living a life in which a problematic old age is inevitable (a prospect that greatly worried the poet of the *Theogony*). It is moreover, a life in which toil—and more than that, danger and daring—is necessary for achievement.[84] In Pindar's epinician world, as in Hesiod, bliss is fleeting and always under threat, and in both poems sins of treachery and deceit seem to institute this new order.

Pelops' tomb, juxtaposed with Zeus' hospitable altar, instantiates the solution to the fraught events of the mythological past and a model for Hieron's present and future. Here, as we have seen, Pelops' (93–94) and Hieron's (23) fame shines for them as victors and (implicitly) founders. Because of his victory, the victor enjoys "fair weather" (98) for the remainder of his mortal life. As founder-heroes and colonizers Pelops and Hieron can receive posthumous cult.[85] Kings like Hieron come as close as is possible to breaking down the barriers that separate mortal from divine. The various version of the Pelops myth flirt with the various possibilities for bridging this gap and justify their failure: unconstrained royal bliss leads inescapably to arrogance and destruction. Hieron is shown existing comfortably and profitably within the boundaries of a post-Tantalos order, and the ode stands surety that he has learned this lesson.

Sexual Dynamics

The parallels between Hieron and Pelops raise the question of how we are to evaluate the paederastic flavor of the Pelops myth when applied to

[83] Hubbard 1987: 10.
[84] As Segal (1964: 212) remarks, Pelops' heroic act arises from a "tension between the awareness of mortality and the recognition of divine power."
[85] Cf. Slater 1989: 499.

the tyrant. Most consideration of this issue has rightly stressed that for an archaic and early classical audience there would have been no shame attached to paederastic relationships.[86] Thus it would be no insult to Hieron to imply—if implication there is—that he had been the recipient of the attentions of an *erastēs* in the past. For Cairns, the emphasis laid on the paederastic relationship is explained by the poet's desire to stress the themes of gratitude and benefaction, both at home and in an epinician context.[87] He points out, moreover, how important these themes were to a tyrant, who could not "bind his subjects and ministers to himself by legal or patriotic ties" but "was forced to rely on personal bonds. Like a miniature Great King, he depended for his continuation in power on his conferment of favors and on the due gratitude of the recipients. The theory underlying the throne had to be kept firmly in the minds of the courtiers."[88] This perceptive comment is worth considering in more detail, although it does not tell the whole story. On this reading we are presented with a relationship where the mythical counterpart to Hieron, Pelops, is, as *erōmenos*, the complaisant object of divine desire and gratifies his lover. In return, he is able to claim favors from his *erastēs* when he comes of age. In contemporary Syracuse, Hieron bestows favors on potential friends and expects their support in return. In both sets of relationships, gratitude and benefaction are important issues, and yet our analysis so far has ignored the direction in which these power dynamics operate. It seems clear that Hieron's bestowal of favors is more akin to Poseidon's than Pelops'. Although both Pelops and Hieron look forward to (and in the former case, claim) support from their "friends," Pelops prays for a return from a creature who is unquestionably his superior, while Hieron transacts his calculus of gratitude with his inferiors. This does not mean that reading Pelops and Hieron as counterparts is mistaken, but it does suggest that the model needs to be cashed out carefully.[89]

In the normal world of mortals, *erōmenoi* grow up, become *erastai* in turn, and have families of their own. The liaison between Pelops and Poseidon threatens to freeze one moment of this evolution in time. As a potent male god, Poseidon can only ever be *erastēs*, and his translation

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[86] So Gerber 1982: 81; Hubbard 1987: 8; Instone 1990: 35, etc.

[87] Cairns 1977: 130.

[88] Cairns 1977: 132.

[89] Burgess (1993: 41) claims that Hieron is indeed the counterpart to Poseidon and that the poet (and presumably by extension courtiers) corresponds to Hieron as mortals to a god. Yet as I have shown, the myth of Tantalos is intended precisely to warn against the identification of any mortal with a god, no matter how powerful he is.

of Pelops to Olympos freezes the boy in his desirable youth and potentially gives him an immortality in which he will never grow up. We may also note, in passing, that this abortive foray into immortality and timelessness is the positive counterpart to the attempt by Oinomaos to "put off the marriage of his daughter" (lines 80–81), an example of the counter-Oedipal anxiety that attempts to disrupt the regular succession of generations by destroying one's son (as Tantalos attempts to kill Pelops in the rejected cannibalistic version of the myth) or preventing the marriage of one's daughter.[90] The resurrection of Pelops (in the rejected version) and his subsequent winning of Hippodameia mark the failure of attempts to forestall the maturity of the hero, to stop the onward march of time. The crime of Tantalos (in the revised version) causes the reinsertion of Pelops into history, sent from Olympos back to earth, where he resumes the normal life cycle: receive the parting gifts of his *erastēs*, woo, marry, and pursue a fruitful adulthood. It is this mature Pelops who corresponds to Hieron: victor, founder, and king. Hieron may well be beloved of the gods, like Pelops, but a Pelops returned to the world of change and decay. It is, therefore, overstating the case to assert that both Pelops and Hieron are the ideal *erōmenoi*.[91] Such status is irretrievably past (for both), and Hieron is part of the group of men who sit around the symposiastic table (lines 16–17: "as we men play around the table of friendship."). It is as a man, an *erastēs*, actual or potential, that he dispenses largesse to his companions; he is dominant in a variety of senses.

How might the dynamics of paederasty play out in a tyrannical setting? We have already seen that the tyrant will be portrayed by Plato as a paradigm of incontinence. In the *Gorgias* and *Republic*, Plato argues that his vaunted freedom and power are an illusion, that the tyrant is in fact enslaved to his insatiable desires and must gratify the worst instincts, both in himself and in those around him, in order to maintain power. Rather than being dominant, he is dominated. In the world of the poem, it is Tantalos who fulfills this role, who gratifies his associates with the food and drink of the gods, and whose punishment in non-Pindaric versions consists of eternal and insatiable hunger and thirst.[92] The stone that Zeus hangs over

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[90] For a structuralist interpretation of the parallel between Oinomaos and Tantalos, see Hubbard 1987: 6.

[91] Krummen 1990: 201. Cf. the objections of Nicholson 2000: 251 and his conclusion: "Commentators are thus surely correct to refuse to countenance the possibility that Pelops' subordinate sexual position as a youth is a point of comparison with the adult Hieron."

[92] For the connection between appetitive excess and aspirations toward immortality, see Hubbard 1987: 13.

Tantalos' head in *Olympian* 1 expresses the same idea of eternal oppression and threat; because of it Tantalos is exiled from good cheer and the feast (line 58).[93] The tyrant's appetite for the food and drink of excess was reflected also in Phalaris and in the cannibalistic banquet that was a minor specialty of the House of Atreus.[94] Tantalos' attempt in the rejected version to kill his son conforms to another tyrannical trope: violence against *philoi*.[95] Tyrants were also stereotypically prone to sexual excess, a dynamic we saw at work in the crime of Ixion in *Pythian* 2. Sexual transgression is not, however, an issue in *Olympian* 1, where the recipient of divine sexual attention is presumably to feel honored, and (as in *Olympian* 6 and *Pythian* 9) the result of their liaison is, ultimately, an act of foundation.[96] Relationships of benefaction and gratitude between gods and men are different from those among men.

The dynamics of gratitude (sexual and otherwise) thus fail to map precisely from the divine onto the human sphere. A prudent vagueness in these matters was no doubt advisable. By focusing on Hieron as an adult favored by the gods, Pindar sheds an aura of divine authority on his patron. Stephen Instone has insightfully suggested that the relationship between Poseidon and Pelops was one way Pindar could signal the intensity of divine care for Hieron and his ambitions (a care emphasized in line 106 when the poet specifies that a god takes thought for Hieron) in a world where the benefaction of an *erastēs* for a previous *erōmenos* was an acknowledged model.[97] Issues of favor and dependency in mortal politics are transferred to a paederastic paradigm complicated by mortal-divine interaction, a paradigm that, for all its complimentary resonance, is only partly applicable to the patron. Hieron may well have had *erōmenoi* of his own,[98] but they play no part in this representation. Indeed, the example of Hipparchos and Harmodios in Athens shows that paederastic entanglements could be fraught for a member of a tyrannical family and were easily assimilated to the tyrannical stereotype of sexual obsession and insatiability.

The original foundation of Syracuse itself was the result of a paederastic affair gone wrong. Archias of Corinth was in love with one Aktaios and tried to abduct him during a *kōmos*. When the boy's family resisted,

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[93] Drew Griffith 1986: 8 observes that Tantalos' stone is the conceptual predecessor of the sword of Damokles associated with another Sicilian tyrant (Dionysios), and emblematic of the tyrant's permanent state of fear.

[94] Hubbard 1987: 6.

[95] Seaford 2003.

[96] On "marriage" and colonization, see Dougherty 1993: 61–80, 136–156 (on *P*. 9).

[97] Instone 1990: 38–39; cf. Nicholson 2000: 239.

[98] E.g., the Dailochos mentioned at Xen. *Hieron* 1.33.

a struggle ensued and the boy was killed. Archias subsequently sailed to Sicily and founded Syracuse.[99] This foundation story is a dark reflection of the Pelops-Poseidon story, one that Pindar may well have had in mind as he transformed his mythological material to compose *Olympian* 1, and it has suggestive elements.[100] In Plutarch, after the death of Aktaios his father takes his body into the marketplace and asks for justice, but nobody helps, presumably because they are afraid of the ruling Bacchiads. The father then accuses the Bacchiads at the Isthmian games and kills himself, bringing famine onto Corinth, which is cured only when Archias goes into exile in Sicily. He dies there, killed by Telephos, his *erōmenos.* Here is a picture of the abuse of power by commanding men, resulting in sexual transgression and injustice. Like Hipparchos, Archias is killed by someone to whom he is sexually attracted. In Pindar's myth of Peloponnesian foundation, on the other hand, the snatched *erōmenos* is unharmed, and it is only the lies of his jealous neighbors that declare otherwise. Rather than foundation being the result of expiation, it is the result of divine benefaction, as the divine *erastēs* repays his beloved with gratitude.

It was, of course, no part of Pindar's purpose to narrate the story of the original foundation of Syracuse. The city had been (quasi-)refounded by Gelon nine years previously and was enjoying—if that is the right word—a fresh start. Although Syracusan aristocrats had been included in the new foundation, they were not the major element in Gelon's designer population. It seems reasonable to conclude that their foundation mythology has been displaced, and ruling power has been reformulated into a model of just kingship that has nothing to do with dead *erōmenoi* or tyrannical abuses of power. To what extent, then, is it correct to say that in the myth Pelops is transformed from king into the ideal aristocratic citizen? The argument is Evelyn Krummen's. Following the lead of Hubbard,[101] she observes how both versions of the Pelops story in the ode conform to patterns of paederastic initiations and rites of passage: a youth is separated from his family, passes through a time of inversion, and finally is reintegrated into society as an adult. In the cannibalistic version, the inversion is death in the cauldron, and reintegration occurs when he is reconstituted. In the preferred version, the "marginalization" phase takes place on Olympus, and reintegration occurs when he returns to earth and is given love gifts by his *erastēs*. The presence of paederastic initiation

[99] Plut. *Mor.* 2.772e–773a; Krummen 1990: 189 with n. 18; Dougherty 1993: 31–32.
[100] Cf. Athanassaki 2003: 122.
[101] 1987: 5–6.

in the background would thus explain the prominence of the symposium/banquet motif in the poem, since the symposium was the home of paederastic paideia. Since paederasty is an aristocratic practice, she suggests, and since the audience of the ode in Syracuse would have been an aristocratic elite, Pindar is playing to the sensibilities of his audience by making Pelops a young aristocrat. He is also transforming mythological material that may have originally linked the cauldron of Pelops with a king-making initiation.[102]

Paederasty in Archaic and Early Classical Greece certainly was an aristocratic elite practice, but it may be an exaggeration to contend that Pindar is playing predominantly to aristocratic sensibilities in his treatment of Pelops and Poseidon. Tyrants emerged from an elite background and shared their cultural paradigms and predispositions, including paederasty. If my suggestion above that the Pelops story in a sense replaces Syracuse's aristocratic foundation narrative of paederastic disaster is accepted, we can see how elite sensibilities are superseded and absorbed into the new regime. The ethics of this regime thus emerge from the elite value systems of the past but serve the needs of the monarch.

Why does Pindar set up the abduction of Pelops as the first divine paederastic abduction? He tells us that Poseidon carried Pelops to Olympos "where in a later time Ganymede came to perform the same service for Zeus" (43–45).[103] By making the most famous and familiar example of divine paederasty (Zeus and Ganymede) follow his new version chronologically, Pindar both authorizes his new version by association and makes it authorize the version from which it derives.[104] Even more: The relationship of Poseidon and Pelops may well be figured as the primal and authorizing instance of paederasty. In the generation after Pindar, Praxilla probably introduced paederasty into the story of Chrysippos (Pelops' son), when she made Zeus abduct Chrysippos, while in the second half of the fifth century Euripides' *Chrysippos* suggested

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[102.] Krummen 1990: 186–196 (paederastic initiatory patterns); 199, 208 (paederasty and symposium); 203–204 (aristocratic flavoring); 182–184, 203 (king-making initiation).

[103.] By the beginning of the fifth century, the abduction of Ganymede had taken on sexual overtones. When we hear of Ganymede's translation to Olympos in the *Iliad* (20.231–235) or the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (202–206), we are simply told that he was taken (in the latter by Zeus himself) in order to be the cupbearer of the gods because of his beauty. Theognis (1345–1348), however, tells how Zeus felt eros for Ganymede, and a series of vases of the early fifth century reinforce this version, showing Zeus, often complete with scepter, snatching Ganymede (who sometimes holds a love gift; see Lear and Cantarella 2008: 141–144). Ganymede's destiny in the early fifth century thus has connections with two sympotic themes: sexual desire and drinking. Pelops is a sexual object for Poseidon, and we may also imagine him as a sympotic serving boy.

[104.] As many have pointed out: Kakridis 1930: 463ff; Gerber 1982: 78–80.

that Laios' abduction of Chrysippos was the original act of paederasty.[105] Yet Pindar goes out of his way to put the foundational act of paederasty in a previous generation and to make it an act of divine favor. By the standards of myth-time, Pelops and Poseidon are the first *erōmenos* and *erastēs*. Just as Pelops is, in some sense, the inaugurator of his colony, the Peloponnese, so he inaugurates also one of the most important cultural facets of elite life. All of these achievements, however, come at a price. In order to make a successful transition out of the *erōmenos* stage, win a bride, and become a ruler, Pelops must leave Olympos and the heavenly banquet.

Walking on High

The final verses of the poem return us to direct praise of Hieron, moving away from Pelops via an evocation of the games and the bliss of the victor, which remind the poet of his duty to praise Hieron in Aeolian song. According to the logic of the poem, Hieron can be assumed to have digested the lessons presented to him. It is therefore safe to characterize him by one of the "superlative vaunts" that assert the superiority of the *laudandus* over everybody else and that are particularly associated with his praise of Sicilian tyrants: "I believe that I shall adorn in the renowned folds of my hymns no other guest-friend more knowledgeable of good things or more authoritative in his power among his contemporaries."[106] We should note both the caution of the formulation, restricted as it is to those alive now, and its content. This links superlative power with knowledge of good things: the pleasures of the banquet and song, and also the knowledge of *what* is good. As we saw in the beginning of the ode, Hieron's reign combines power, justice, and culture. As a result, we learn in lines 106–108, a god watches over his cares. Here again the contrast with Tantalos comes to the surface, for (54–55) the "watchers of Olympos" honored and observed him too, and this honor is couched in terms very similar to the superlative vaunt: if the watchers of Olympos honored any mortal man, it was Tantalos. The formulation "if any man, then this one" marks out the subject as unique. Both Tantalos and Hieron stand above the lot of normal mortals and have superlative favor accorded to them.[107]

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[105] Hubbard 2006.

[106] Kurke 1991: 224 n. 53 has noted that of the six occurrences of this feature in Pindaric epinician, four of them are in odes for the Sicilian tyrants and express their unrivaled power, wealth, and generosity. The other two refer to unique athletic achievements.

[107] On *O.* 1 as a poem of superlatives, see Segal 1964: 212, who also connects the statement that if the gods honored any man, it was Tantalos (54) with the poet's later observation that if a man expects to act unnoticed by the gods, he errs (64). For Segal, these two formulations represent the positive and negative poles of divine intervention in the mortal world.

Tantalos fell; Hieron must and will not, and the reward will be further honor, an Olympic chariot victory for Hieron to celebrate, "if he [the god] does not soon leave you" (108). We have already seen how swiftly the gods punish mortal arrogance. Thus the vaunt and prayer, while remaining positive, encode the negative paradigm that the king must avoid.

Just as the rule of Hieron combines poetry and power, so too does Pindar's projection of his own authority. Pindar, who hopes that he will be chosen to celebrate the anticipated chariot victory, expresses this hope by saying that the Muse is nurturing for him a mighty missile.[108] As often in Pindar, the poet takes on the role of warrior or athlete, but here the collocation of military might and poetic power takes on a special resonance. We have seen in the opening of the poem how the idyllic kingdom of Hieron combines justice and poetry, and the vaunt of lines 103–105 expresses a similar combination of power and culture. Now, the combination appears again attached to the person of the poet, reinforcing the significance of authoritative speech combined with might that was also the message of *Theogony* 81–96. There poets and kings existed in parallel, although the supremacy of kings came from Zeus.[109] Pindar makes the same point with a summary priamel that merges into lines expressing the eminence of both king and poet (113–116):

> Greatness comes to different men in different ways,
> but the highest peak is reached
> by kings. Look no further.
> May you walk on high for this your time;
> may I consort so long with the victorious
> and be renowned for my skill
> among the Greeks everywhere.

Here too poets and kings are associated and kings occupy the highest point (and must learn to respect the limits of their position). Victory, kingship, and poetry create a climax, as kings reach the furthest peak (*koruphoutai,* 113) in language that is designed to recall Hieron culling the "peaks" (*koruphas*, 13) of excellence earlier. Hieron walks on high (although his time is subject to the constraints of mortal existence) like the sun in the priamel; both are in a position of sovereignty. The injunction to look no further also

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[108] Segal 1964: 224 notes the parallelism of poet and victor here (and the mythological hero—all of whom strive to attain a proper relationship with the divine). See also Slater 1977: 202; Lefkowitz 1984.

[109] Noted briefly by Slater 1977: 202.

links the beginning and ending, as Lefkowitz has remarked: we must not look to find anything more preeminent than the sun in its realm, just as Hieron must not seek to go beyond the bounds of mortal bliss.[110] In this situation of limited preeminence hedged by the restrictions of the mortal world, Pindar has played his part by laying bare the rules that constitute it and modeling them himself. He too gains preeminence for his wisdom, standing out (*prophanton*) like the sun and the king, constructing them and being constructed in turn, a reciprocity that has its roots in Hesiod but is developed and theorized (if one may go so far) by his Boiotian successor. This is a world where wisdom, power, and poetry exist in intimate association and where victory in the games is both sign and product of this happy state of affairs.

Coda: Bacchylides 5

Bacchylides' fifth epinician was probably composed to celebrate the same victory as *Olympian* 1, and a brief detour to this ode will help to clarify Pindar's technique in *Olympian* 1, as well as reveal common themes. Like *Pythians* 2 and 3, Bacchylides 5 has been suspected of being a member of the phantom genre of the poetic epistle; like them, it is best construed as an epinician, given we have no reason to believe that the same event could not be celebrated by more than one poem.[111] The present discussion will focus on the tone of the ode's opening invocation to Hieron, its relationship with Hesiod, and the nature of the connection between Hieron and the central myth of Herakles and Meleager.

The poem starts by addressing Hieron at length (lines 1–50), setting forth the poet's willingness and determination to praise, evoking the solitary and majestic flight of Zeus' eagle, and elaborating on the victorious performance of the horse Pherenikos. The narrative of Herakles' visit to the underworld and his meeting there with the ghost of Meleager (56–175) is introduced as exemplification of the poet's contention that no mortal is happy in all things (53–55). When Herakles descended to Hades to bring back Kerberos as one of his labors, he saw Meleager's impressive shade and was alarmed enough to start to string an arrow against it before being calmed by Meleager's reassurance that there was nothing to fear. In the subsequent conversation Meleager tells the story of the Calydonian boar hunt and his accidental killing of his maternal uncles, an event that caused

[110] Lefkowitz 1976: 95.
[111] Schmidt 1987.

his mother to burn the log the Fates had decreed to be coterminous with his life. His final words narrate how he wept as he left behind his glorious youth. Moved to pity (and to erotic desire), Herakles asks whether Meleager has a sister like him whom he could marry. Meleager replies that he left behind his virgin sister Deianeira (whom Herakles would indeed marry, and who, the audience would know, caused Herakles' final demise). There the myth breaks off, and Bacchylides returns to singing of Zeus, Alpheos, Pelops, Pisa, and the necessity of praise. The final epode presents the poet as following the lead of Hesiod in talking about one whom the immortals honor, and it ends with a prayer to Zeus to preserve in peace the root stocks of good men.

The opening address to Hieron is one of the most spectacular parts of the poem. Commentators have noted that it is atypical in its length and that such an invocation to a mortal, rather than a patron divinity, is unusual: "in its exclusive focus on the victor it is surely meant to be striking."[112] The hymnic cast of the opening comes close to treating Hieron as a god.[113] As the ode progresses, this status will be contextualized within the realm of human achievement, but the impression is lasting. Some elements remind us of *Olympian* 1 or *Pythian* 2. Styling Hieron as the "general of the horse-whirling Syracusans" (5.1–2) resonates with *Pythian* 2.1–2, where Syracuse is invoked as "sacred precinct of Ares who plumbs the depths of war, divine nurse of men and horses that delight in iron," and with the description of Hieron as "the king of Syracuse who delights in horses" (*O*. 1.23). The vocative combines nicely the idea of Hieron as a war leader (a glance at Himera) and as inheritor of the Syracusan passion for horses (this combination of athletics and war is repeated at 5.32–34 "to hymn your excellence for the sake of dark-tressed Victory and Ares with his bronze breast"). As in *Olympian* 1, the poet pays tribute to Hieron's musical expertise: "You, if any mortal now alive, will know correctly the sweet gift that is the adornment of the Muses with their violet crowns" (5.4–6). This modified form of the superlative vaunt (restricting its application to contemporaries) is matched in Pindar by a similar but broader vaunt concerning Hieron's power and knowledge of noble things (*O*. 1.103–105).

The opening lines, then, manipulate similar material to Pindar's, but the effect is quite different. As Lefkowitz has observed, the focus is entirely on Hieron. This contrasts Pindar's strategy of broader contextualization. *Pythian* 2 opens with an invocation to Syracuse and presents

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[112] Cairns 2010: 216 (quote), 1997: 39, Lefkowitz 1969: 48–49; Goldhill 1983: 66.
[113] Race 1990: 148 (note the comparison there to *O*. 6.98).

the reception of the victory by the city before concentrating on Hieron. Syracuse receives the song that the poet is bringing from Thebes; the initial second person in the ode refers to the city (*P*. 2.3), and Hieron is not addressed in the second person until the first epode (*P*. 2.18) after a summary priamel that establishes kingship as the frame of reference in which to evaluate him. *Olympian* 1 opens by locating Hieron from a cosmic perspective and sketches the movement of many experts to his court before focusing on Pindar's own song. Bacchylides, however, begins with the second person, speaking directly to Hieron; the poet is the "famous attendant of Ourania with her golden headband," who brings his hymn to "your famous city" (5.10–14). He switches to the third person only with the announcement of his willingness to "praise Hieron" (5.16). Indeed, there is a sense in which Bacchylides 5 and *Olympian* 1 are reverse images of each other when it comes to movement between second- and third-person address. Lucia Athanassaki's analysis of Pindar's references to Hieron in *Olympian* 1 has shown that Pindar moves from a distanced relationship with him at the beginning (shown through third-person address) to a more intimate relationship at the end of the ode, where he finally addresses him in the second person (106–115).[114] Bacchylides, on the other hand, starts with an extremely focused and intimate address in his first strophe and moves outward to the heavens and the third person in the first antistrophe.

The role of the poet in Bacchylides 5 is to be a servant of the Muses. This is how Bacchylides describes himself at line 14, and at the end of the poem Hesiod is labeled a "minister" of the same divinities (5.192). We might be tempted to conclude that Bacchylides presents a more modest appraisal of his relationship with Hieron than Pindar does in *Olympian* 1, but we must also take into account the extraordinary simile of the eagle that occupies the first antistrophe. We have already considered this comparison in Chapter 3, along with related examples from other Pindaric odes, and concluded that these passages align the poet with the victor, and with Zeus-like power. Now we may add that Bacchylides' treatment of this topic is particularly well crafted to achieve this effect, starting as it does immediately after his statement of willingness to praise Hieron, and ending with an explicit mapping of tenor onto vehicle ("So now for me also there is a measureless path in every direction to hymn your excellence" 5.31–33). Yet it is not until the end of the passage that the audience knows for certain that the poet is one of the terms of comparison. Until lines

[114] Athanassaki 2004: 321–324.

31–33 the audience would be justified in thinking that the eagle's primary reference is to Hieron.[115] So it may be justified to see the voice of the poet here as somewhat more muted than Pindar's in *Olympian* 1; as Christopher Carey remarks, "it is revealing that unlike Pindar Bacchylides presents himself through an extended simile rather than through the medium of extended first person statement."[116]

It is particularly suggestive, given the discussion in Chapter 3, that the eagle passage comes in an ode with substantial Hesiodic resonance, both implicit and explicit. An explicit allusion to Hesiod comes at the opening of the final epode:

> Βοιωτὸς ἀνὴρ τᾶδε φών[ησεν, γλυκειᾶν]
> Ἡσίοδος πρόπολος
> Μουσᾶν, ὃν <ἂν> ἀθάνατοι τι[μῶσι, τούτῳ]
> καὶ βροτῶν φήμαν ἕπ[εσθαι.]
>
> A Boiotian man spoke in this fashion,
> Hesiod, the minister of the sweet Muses:
> whomever the gods honor
> is followed also by mortal report.
>
> (5.191–194)

There has been some uncertainty over the precise Hesiod passage Bacchylides has in mind. Is this a previously unknown fragment of Hesiod, or does it point us toward *Theogony* 81–93?[117] Given that one can make a good case that the opening of the poem looks to the identical passage of Hesiod, it is plausible to conclude the latter, although it is, as Herwig Maehler remarks, a rather approximate "quotation."[118] What is exciting, however, is that the same passage may lie behind the presentation of Hieron as just king in *Olympian* 1, as I argued earlier in this chapter. Hesiod tells how the people look on a king blessed by the Muses as "he decrees his ordinances with straight judgments;" his people look on him with respect and he stands out among them. This Hesiodic background

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[115] Lefkowitz 1969: 54–55 and Goldhill 1983: 68 both see the image as multivalent; Cairns 2010: 219–221 wants the connection with the poet to be primary but does not deny potential application to Hieron. He even suggests, tentatively, a connection between Bacchylides' eagle and the tetradrachm of Aitna considered in Chapter 2 ("a consistent image of Hieron's self-presentation as ruler").

[116] Carey 1999: 18.

[117] For the latter, see Lefkowitz 1969: 90–92, 1976: 73.

[118] Maehler 2004: 128; Cairns 2010: 246.

allows us to understand better the traditional dynamics at work in honoring Hieron and reinforces our earlier suspicion that associating him with a picture of a just quasi-epic kingship must have been particularly welcome. With this in mind we can look at the opening of the poem with new eyes and agree with those who read Bacchylides' description of Hieron's "straight-judging mind" (φρένα . . . εὐθύδικον) in line 6 as another glance at Hesiod.[119]

The differences between Pindar's and Bacchylides' treatments of similar material throw into relief the obtrusiveness with which Pindar focuses on Hieron's status as king (*basileus*). Pindar's portrait of Hieron's Hesiodic rule comes complete with scepter and two references to kingship (lines 23 and 114). Bacchylides is far subtler. He calls Hieron "general" in the first line of his ode,[120] and although he speaks of "your city" he never calls him *basileus*. The picture of the poet pouring forth song from his breast (5.15) might conceivably remind us of the nightingale,[121] and if so, then of the Hesiodic hawk and nightingale, but this resonance is soon replaced by the eagle image that pulls the poet into a position of authority and control. Although the mention of Hieron's "straight-judging mind" recalls Hesiodic kingship, there is no scepter to confirm the connection. When we come to the end of the poem, it is notable how the summary allusion to the *Theogony* (if allusion it is) elides the fact that in Hesiod it is kings whom the Muses honor. Instead we are told that mortal report follows whomever the gods honor. This is a substantially more down-to-earth formulation, and for some this is evidence that the end of the poem is humanist and pragmatic, aware of mortal limitations.[122] Similarly the exhortation at lines 187–190 to praise for the sake of truth and avoid jealousy, if a mortal does well (εἴ τις εὖ πράσσοι βροτῶν), is a neutral presentation of these epinician imperatives, and very far from Pindar's complex presentation of the envy that accompanies superlative and regal success in *Pythian* 2 and *Olympian* 1. Nevertheless, the invocation of Kalliope as Bacchylides breaks off from his mythical narrative in line 176 ("White-armed Kalliope, stop your well-made chariot here") could direct the listener attentive to regal Hesiodic resonances back to the *Theogony* even before the mention of Hesiod fifteen lines later. Why, after all, does Bacchylides begin the poem as the servant of Ourania and end it by calling on Kalliope? Perhaps

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[119] Lefkowitz 1969: 50–51, 1976: 73; cf. Goldhill 1983: 67.

[120] See Maehler 1982: 86 for a brief discussion of the use of the term *general* with bibliography, correctly concluding that this cannot have been an "official" title.

[121] Lefkowitz 1969: 51.

[122] Lefkowitz 1969: 91–92.

because at *Theogony* 79–80 Kalliope is the most outstanding of all the Muses, since it is she who "accompanies revered kings." These are the two lines that immediately precede the passage on Muse-honored kings with which we have been concerned. Bacchylides, then, suggests a royal persona for Hieron, but he does so by implication. Pindar's approach in *Olympian* 1, both in the opening triad and at the end of the ode, is all about kingship, weaving together royal judgment and its intricate relationship with poets and poetic discourse.

Finally, we may consider the relevance of the central myth of Herakles and Meleager to the positioning of Hieron. The myth is generally read as a somber exemplification of the truth that no mortal is happy in all things, and as a demonstration of the limitations of mortal knowledge. Herakles has to be dissuaded from firing vain arrows against a ghost. Worse still, his sorrow at Meleager's untimely and undeserved death leads him to propose marriage to Meleager's sister, an act that will lead to his own poisoning and self-immolation on a pyre at Mt. Oita. The break-off of the myth just after the mention of Deianeira's fatal name ensures that the audience will complete the story for themselves, creating an irony that is acknowledged to be one of Bacchylides' most impressive narrative effects.[123] What is less clear is whether the irony and pessimism of the myth is meant to spill over into our evaluation of Hieron. On one reading, this is indeed the case. We are meant to remember that although Hieron is happy and blessed now, the future is unpredictable. The leaf of happiness that Pherenikos brings to Hieron in Syracuse (5.184–186) reminds us of the souls of the dead whirled by the banks of the Kokytos in the underworld (5.65–67, an image that derives in turn from the famous comparison of the generations of men to the generations of leaves in *Iliad* 6.146–149).[124] Hieron must guard against arrogance and overconfidence; the ode is pragmatic, humanistic, cautionary.

Or should we read the myth as a negative foil? In this case the joyous framing passages at the opening and close of the poem give the lie to the pessimism of the myth and assure us of a benevolent world. Blindness, disorder, and hostile deities in the myth are opposed to order, prudence, and fair fate in the world of Hieron. The myth illustrates his good fortune by giving a negative picture of what does not apply to him.[125] For fruitful mediation between these two poles, one might cite the analysis of Simon Goldhill, who concludes that the picture of control we see early in the

[123] E.g., Lefkowitz 1969: 85–87; Carey 1999: 26–27.
[124] Lefkowitz 1969: 88–89.
[125] Péron: 1978: 311–325; Arnson Svarlien 1995.

poem is indeed illusory, but that the close of the ode presents a more optimistic picture than we receive in the myth: "a more controlled spirit of jubilation, a limited joy at success." Perhaps, he suggests, we need to think beyond Herakles' death to his apotheosis.[126]

The question of how to interpret the exemplarity of myth in the Hieron odes is, of course, one of the overarching concerns of this book. In the case of Pindar's great sinners considered so far (Tantalos, Ixion), I have proposed, the nature of their transgression is meant to illustrate the dangers of superlative status that make men misunderstand their relationship to the gods. Tantalos and Ixion are clear negative foils, and Hieron is praised by implication for avoiding their mistakes. Bacchylides 5 shares Pindar's general concerns about the perils of mortal misunderstanding, but it is notable that the issue of superlative status does not govern his mythical presentation. Meleager's and Herakles' limited knowledge and incapacity to avert divine hostility is shared by all humans. The fragility of mortal success is a general problem; it means that Hieron must be moderate in victory, but so must any man (cf. line 190: "if any mortal does well"). The compassion and humanity projected by Bacchylides integrate Hieron into the wider community of *epichthonioi*, those who live on the face of the earth (cf. lines 5, 54, 96), at the same time as he prays, cautiously, that his good fortune may endure. Pindar, in contrast, is pointed and exceptionalist, focusing in the myth and elsewhere in *Olympian* 1 on westward movement, on the functioning of poetry and more general rumor in high-status venues, and on the near misses that doom even divinely favored mortals. The genius of *Olympian* 1 does not lie in its subtlety but in the persistent and glorious emphasis with which Hieron is separated from the run of common men.

[126] Goldhill 1983 (quote at 79).

CHAPTER 7 | *Pythian* 3: Victory over Vicissitude

Α′ Ἤθελον Χίρωνά κε Φιλλυρίδαν,
εἰ χρεὼν τοῦθ’ ἁμετέρας ἀπὸ γλώσσας
κοινὸν εὔξασθαι ἔπος
ζώειν τὸν ἀποιχόμενον,
Οὐρανίδα γόνον εὐρυμέδοντα Κρόνου,
βάσσαισί τ’ ἄρχειν Παλίου φῆρ’ ἀγρότερον
νόον ἔχοντ’ ἀνδρῶν φίλον· οἷος ἐὼν θρέψεν ποτέ (5)
τέκτονα νωδυνίας
ἦμερον γυιαρκέος Ἀσκλαπιόν,
ἥροα παντοδαπᾶν ἀλκτῆρα νούσων.

τὸν μὲν εὐίππου Φλεγύα θυγάτηρ
πρὶν τελέσσαι ματροπόλῳ σὺν Ἐλειθυί-
ᾳ, δαμεῖσα χρυσέοις
τόξοισιν ὕπ’ Ἀρτέμιδος (10)
εἰς Ἀΐδα δόμον ἐν θαλάμῳ κατέβα,
τέχναις Ἀπόλλωνος. χόλος δ’ οὐκ ἀλίθιος
γίνεται παίδων Διός. ἁ δ’ ἀποφλαυρίξαισά νιν
ἀμπλακίαισι φρενῶν,
ἄλλον αἴνησεν γάμον κρύβδαν πατρός,
πρόσθεν ἀκερσεκόμᾳ μιχθεῖσα Φοίβῳ,

καὶ φέροισα σπέρμα θεοῦ καθαρόν (15)
οὐκ ἔμειν’ ἐλθεῖν τράπεζαν νυμφίαν,
οὐδὲ παμφώνων ἰαχὰν ὑμεναίων, ἅλικες
οἷα παρθένοι φιλέοισιν ἑταῖραι

ἐσπερίαις ὑποκουρίζεσθ᾽ ἀοιδαῖς· ἀλλά τοι
ἤρατο τῶν ἀπεόντων· οἷα καὶ πολλοὶ πάθον.
ἔστι δὲ φῦλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ματαιότατον,
ὅστις αἰσχύνων ἐπιχώρια παπταίνει τὰ πόρσω,
μεταμώνια θηρεύων ἀκράντοις ἐλπίσιν.

Β′ ἔσχε τοι ταύταν μεγάλαν ἀυάταν
καλλιπέπλου λῆμα Κορωνίδος· ἐλθόν-
τος γὰρ εὐνάσθη ξένου
λέκτροισιν ἀπ᾽ Ἀρκαδίας.
οὐδ᾽ ἔλαθε σκοπόν· ἐν δ᾽ ἄρα μηλοδόκῳ
Πυθῶνι τόσσαις ἄϊεν ναοῦ βασιλεύς
Λοξίας, κοινᾶνι παρ᾽ εὐθυτάτῳ γνώμαν πιθών,
πάντα ἰσάντι νόῳ·
ψευδέων δ᾽ οὐχ ἅπτεται, κλέπτει τέ μιν
οὐ θεὸς οὐ βροτὸς ἔργοις οὔτε βουλαῖς.

καὶ τότε γνοὺς Ἴσχυος Εἰλατίδα
ξεινίαν κοίταν ἄθεμίν τε δόλον, πέμ-
ψεν κασιγνήταν μένει
θυίοισαν ἀμαιμακέτῳ
ἐς Λακέρειαν, ἐπεὶ παρὰ Βοιβιάδος
κρημνοῖσιν ᾤκει παρθένος· δαίμων δ᾽ ἕτερος
ἐς κακὸν τρέψαις ἐδαμάσσατό νιν, καὶ γειτόνων
πολλοὶ ἐπαῦρον, ἀμᾶ
δ᾽ ἔφθαρεν· πολλὰν δ᾽ {ἐν} ὄρει πῦρ ἐξ ἑνός
σπέρματος ἐνθορὸν ἀΐστωσεν ὕλαν.

ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ τείχει θέσαν ἐν ξυλίνῳ
σύγγονοι κούραν, σέλας δ᾽ ἀμφέδραμεν
λάβρον Ἀφαίστου, τότ᾽ ἔειπεν Ἀπόλλων· ‘Οὐκέτι
τλάσομαι ψυχᾷ γένος ἀμὸν ὀλέσσαι
οἰκτροτάτῳ θανάτῳ ματρὸς βαρείᾳ σὺν πάθᾳ.’
ὣς φάτο· βάματι δ᾽ ἐν πρώτῳ κιχὼν παῖδ᾽ ἐκ νεκροῦ
ἅρπασε· καιομένα δ᾽ αὐτῷ διέφαινε πυρά.
καί ῥά νιν Μάγνητι φέρων πόρε Κενταύρῳ διδάξαι
πολυπήμονας ἀνθρώποισιν ἰᾶσθαι νόσους.

Γ′ τοὺς μὲν ὦν, ὅσσοι μόλον αὐτοφύτων
ἑλκέων ξυνάονες, ἢ πολιῷ χαλκῷ μέλη τετρωμένοι
ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ,

ἢ θερινῷ πυρὶ περθόμενοι δέμας ἢ
χειμῶνι, λύσαις ἄλλον ἀλλοίων ἀχέων
ἔξαγεν, τοὺς μὲν μαλακαῖς ἐπαοιδαῖς ἀμφέπων,
τοὺς δὲ προσανέα πί-
νοντας, ἢ γυίοις περάπτων πάντοθεν
φάρμακα, τοὺς δὲ τομαῖς ἔστασεν ὀρθούς·

ἀλλὰ κέρδει καὶ σοφία δέδεται.
ἔτραπεν καὶ κεῖνον ἀγάνορι μισθῷ
χρυσὸς ἐν χερσὶν φανείς
ἄνδρ᾽ ἐκ θανάτου κομίσαι
ἤδη ἁλωκότα· χερσὶ δ᾽ ἄρα Κρονίων
ῥίψαις δι᾽ ἀμφοῖν ἀμπνοὰν στέρνων κάθελεν
ὠκέως, αἴθων δὲ κεραυνὸς ἐνέσκιμψεν μόρον.
χρὴ τὰ ἐοικότα πὰρ
δαιμόνων μαστευέμεν θναταῖς φρασίν
γνόντα τὸ πὰρ ποδός, οἵας εἰμὲν αἴσας.

μή, φίλα ψυχά, βίον ἀθάνατον
σπεῦδε, τὰν δ᾽ ἔμπρακτον ἄντλει μαχανάν.
εἰ δὲ σώφρων ἄντρον ἔναι᾽ ἔτι Χίρων, καί τί οἱ
φίλτρον <ἐν> θυμῷ μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι
ἀμέτεροι τίθεν, ἰατῆρά τοί κέν νιν πίθον
καί νυν ἐσλοῖσι παρασχεῖν ἀνδράσιν θερμᾶν νόσων
ἤ τινα Λατοΐδα κεκλημένον ἢ πατέρος.
καί κεν ἐν ναυσὶν μόλον Ἰονίαν τάμνων θάλασσαν
Ἀρέθοισαν ἐπὶ κράναν παρ᾽ Αἰτναῖον ξένον,

Δ′ ὃς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεύς,
πραΰς ἀστοῖς, οὐ φθονέων ἀγαθοῖς, ξεί-
νοις δὲ θαυμαστὸς πατήρ.
τῷ μὲν διδύμας χάριτας
εἰ κατέβαν ὑγίειαν ἄγων χρυσέαν
κῶμόν τ᾽ ἀέθλων Πυθίων αἴγλαν στεφάνοις,
τοὺς ἀριστεύων Φερένικος ἔλεν Κίρρᾳ ποτέ,
ἀστέρος οὐρανίου
φαμὶ τηλαυγέστερον κείνῳ φάος
ἐξικόμαν κε βαθὺν πόντον περάσαις.

ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεύξασθαι μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλω
Ματρί, τὰν κοῦραι παρ᾽ ἐμὸν πρόθυρον σὺν

Πανὶ μέλπονται θαμά
σεμνὰν θεὸν ἐννύχιαι.
εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, Ἱέρων,
ὀρθὰν ἐπίστᾳ, μανθάνων οἶσθα προτέρων
ἓν παρ᾽ ἐσλὸν πήματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς
ἀθάνατοι. τὰ μὲν ὦν
οὐ δύνανται νήπιοι κόσμῳ φέρειν,
ἀλλ᾽ ἀγαθοί, τὰ καλὰ τρέψαντες ἔξω.

τὶν δὲ μοῖρ᾽ εὐδαιμονίας ἔπεται.
λαγέταν γάρ τοι τύραννον δέρκεται,
εἴ τιν᾽ ἀνθρώπων, ὁ μέγας πότμος. αἰὼν δ᾽ ἀσφαλής
οὐκ ἔγεντ᾽ οὔτ᾽ Αἰακίδᾳ παρὰ Πηλεῖ
οὔτε παρ᾽ ἀντιθέῳ Κάδμῳ· λέγονται {γε} μὰν βροτῶν
ὄλβον ὑπέρτατον οἳ σχεῖν, οἵτε καὶ χρυσαμπύκων
μελπομενᾶν ἐν ὄρει Μοισᾶν καὶ ἐν ἑπταπύλοις
ἄϊον Θήβαις, ὁπόθ᾽ Ἁρμονίαν γᾶμεν βοῶπιν,
ὁ δὲ Νηρέος εὐβούλου Θέτιν παῖδα κλυτάν,

Ε′ καὶ θεοὶ δαίσαντο παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέροις,
καὶ Κρόνου παῖδας βασιλῆας ἴδον χρυ-
σέαις ἐν ἕδραις, ἔδνα τε
δέξαντο· Διὸς δὲ χάριν
ἐκ προτέρων μεταμειψάμενοι καμάτων
ἔστασαν ὀρθὰν καρδίαν. ἐν δ᾽ αὖτε χρόνῳ
τὸν μὲν ὀξείαισι θύγατρες ἐρήμωσαν πάθαις
εὐφροσύνας μέρος αἰ
τρεῖς· ἀτὰρ λευκωλένῳ γε Ζεὺς πατήρ
ἤλυθεν ἐς λέχος ἱμερτὸν Θυώνᾳ.

τοῦ δὲ παῖς, ὅνπερ μόνον ἀθανάτα
τίκτεν ἐν Φθίᾳ Θέτις, ἐν πολέμῳ τό-
ξοις ἀπὸ ψυχὰν λιπών
ὥρσεν πυρὶ καιόμενος
ἐκ Δαναῶν γόον. εἰ δὲ νόῳ τις ἔχει
θνατῶν ἀλαθείας ὁδόν, χρὴ πρὸς μακάρων
τυγχάνοντ᾽ εὖ πασχέμεν. ἄλλοτε δ᾽ ἀλλοῖαι πνοαί
ὑψιπετᾶν ἀνέμων.
ὄλβος {δ᾽} οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν ἀνδρῶν ἔρχεται
σάος, πολὺς εὖτ᾽ ἂν ἐπιβρίσαις ἔπηται.

σμικρὸς ἐν σμικροῖς, μέγας ἐν μεγάλοις
ἔσσομαι, τὸν δ᾽ ἀμφέποντ᾽ αἰεὶ φρασίν
δαίμον᾽ ἀσκήσω κατ᾽ ἐμὰν θεραπεύων μαχανάν.
εἰ δέ μοι πλοῦτον θεὸς ἀβρὸν ὀρέξαι,
ἐλπίδ᾽ ἔχω κλέος εὑρέσθαι κεν ὑψηλὸν πρόσω.
Νέστορα καὶ Λύκιον Σαρπηδόν᾽, ἀνθρώπων φάτῑς,
ἐξ ἐπέων κελαδεννῶν, τέκτονες οἷα σοφοί
ἅρμοσαν, γινώσκομεν· ἀ δ᾽ ἀρετὰ κλεινα῀ῖς ἀοιδα῀ῖς
χρονία τελέθει· παύροις δὲ πράξασθ᾽ εὐμαρές.

A′ Would that Chiron son of Phillyra
—if I must pray with my own tongue a prayer
common to all—
were alive, dead though he be,
the wide-ruling offspring of Kronos, son of Ouranos.
Would he were ruling in the glens of Pelion, the wild beast
who had a mind friendly to men,
such as he was when once he nurtured
the craftsman of pain's ease that assists the limbs,
gentle Asklepios,
the hero who healed us of illnesses of all kinds.

The daughter of Phlegyas rich in horses,
before she brought him to term
with the help of Eileithyia who attends on mothers,
subdued by the golden
arrows of Artemis,
went down into the House of Hades in her own chamber,
through the crafts of Apollo. The anger
of the children of Zeus is not in vain. But she made light of it
in the error of her mind and approved
another marriage without her father's knowledge,
although she had previously mingled with long-haired Phoibos

and was carrying the pure seed of the god;
she did not wait to come to the bridal banquet,
nor for the sound of bridal hymns performed by many voices,
the kind that companion maidens are accustomed
to chant playfully for their comrade
in evening songs. But indeed,
she loved what was absent, a failing experienced
by many.

There is among men a tribe most useless,
which disdains what is native and sets its heart on what is far away,
hunting after unfulfilled hopes borne on the wind.

B′ This was the great delusion entertained by
the spirit of Koronis, she of the beautiful robe:
for when a stranger came from Arcadia
she slept with him in her bed.
But she did not escape the watcher. The king happened to be
in his temple in sheep-receiving Pytho and he perceived it,
Loxias, convincing his judgement through his most
immediate companion,
his all-knowing mind.
He has no part in falsehoods;
no god, no mortal deceives him in deed or counsel.

So then he recognized the foreign coupling with Ischys, son
of Eilatos,
and the lawless deceit. He sent his sister,
raging with irresistible fury,
to Lakeira, for the maiden was living
by the banks of Lake Boibas. A divinity of a different kind
turned her to an evil fate and subdued her;
many neighbours
shared her doom and were destroyed with her. Fire from
one spark
leaping upon a mountain destroys a great forest.

But when upon the wooden pyre,
her kinsmen placed the girl and flame encircled her
the violent flame of Hephaistos, then Apollo spoke:
"No longer
will I endure it in my soul to destroy my offspring
with a most pitiful death because of the heavy suffering of
his mother."
So he spoke. He reached her on his first step
and snatched the child from the corpse.
The fires of the pyre parted for him as they burned.
He carried him and gave him to the Magnesian centaur, to
teach him
how to heal the sicknesses that cause such great woe for men;

Γ′ men who came because they lived with self-generated
ulcers, or because their limbs had been wounded with grey
bronze,
or a missile thrown from afar
or whose bodies were being destroyed by sunstroke or
winter chill[1]—
freeing varied people from varied woes,
he brought them through it, tending some with gentle incantations,
making others drink kindly potions,
or surrounding their limbs on all sides;
with drugs; others he set upright through incisions.

But even expertise is constrained by the desire for gain.
Gold appearing in someone's hands induced even him,
through lordly pay,
to bring back from death a man
who was already taken. So the son of Kronos
made a cast with his hands and destroyed
the breath in both their breasts
swiftly; burning lightning hurled their fate upon them.
One must seek what is fitting from the gods,
recognizing with our mortal minds
what is at our feet, what portion is ours.

Do not, my soul, seek for immortal life,
but use to the full the possible device.
But if prudent Chiron were still living in his cave, and
my honey-sweet hymns set some charm in his spirit,
I would have persuaded him
to send even now someone to heal good men
from feverish illnesses,
one called a descendent of Leto or of the father,
and I would have come on ships cleaving the Ionian sea,
to the spring of Arethousa and to my guest-friend of Aitna,

Δ′ who holds sway as king in Syracuse,
gentle to the citizens, no envier of the good,
and a marvelous father for strangers.
If I had arrived bearing twin graces for him,
golden health
and a revel as lustre for the crowns of Pythian contests

[1]For the translation of πυρὶ here see Gildersleeve 1890: 273; Young 1968: 41 with n. 4.

that Pherenikos once won in his victorious
excellence at Kirrha,
I declare that
as a light more conspicuous than a star of heaven
I would have come to him, crossing the deep sea.

But I wish to pray
to the Mother; to her, along with Pan,
maidens often sing in the nighttime at my doorstep,
the reverend goddess.
If you know, Hieron, how to understand correctly
the point of speeches, you know,
because you have learnt it from those who have
come before,
that the immortals distribute to mortals two woes together
for each good.
Fools are not able to bear this in any good order,
but the good can, because they turn the good to the outside.

A portion of happiness follows you,
for a great fate looks upon an autocrat who leads
his people,
if on any man. But a life lived in safety
did not come to pass either for Peleus son of Aiakos,
nor for the godlike Kadmos. These men are said to have
enjoyed the highest bliss mortals can attain.
They listened to the Muses in their golden headbands
singing on the mountain and in seven-gated
Thebes, when the one married ox-eyed Harmonia
and the other Thetis, famous child of Nereus with his
good counsel.

E′ The gods feasted with both of them,
and they saw the kings, the children of Kronos,
on their golden thrones and received their bride-gifts.
Through the favour of Zeus
they escaped from their former toils
and set their heart upright. But at another time
his three daughters because of their sharp sufferings
deprived one of a portion of his joy. But father Zeus
came to the desirable bed of white-armed Thyone.

The child of the other, whom immortal Thetis (100)
bore in Phthia as her only child,
lost his life through arrows in war
and when he was burnt in the fire roused
lamentation from the Danaans. If a mortal keeps in his mind
the path of truth, he must be
in good spirits when he receives good things from the immortals.
At different times, the blasts
of high-soaring winds are of different quality.
Prosperity does not come to men for long (105)
in safety, when it presses behind them
as a great and following wind.[2]

I shall be small in small circumstances, great in great,
and always in my mind,
I shall honour the divinity that attends me
and cultivate it according to my means.
But if god should hold out to me luxurious wealth, (110)
I hope that I would win lofty fame in time to come.
We know of Nestor and Lycian Sarpedon, the talk of men,
because of the resounding words that wise craftsmen
have fitted together. It is through songs of renown that excellence
ends up enduring. For few is this easy to achieve. (115)

Date and Occasion

Pythian 3 presents problems not only of date, but of genre and reception. Alone of Pindar's odes to Hieron, it does not announce a victory at the games. Pherenikos' two victories at the Pythian Games of 482 and 478 are referred to in a complex counterfactual sentence at lines 73–74 to which we shall return.[3] No military victories are mentioned. The only possible historical hook comes at line 69, where Pindar speaks of Hieron his "guest-friend of Aitna." This dates the poem after the foundation of Aitna in 476.[4] Since the poet wishes within the poem that Chiron were still alive to provide a healer for Hieron, and that he himself could bring health, we

[2] For the interpretation of ἐπιβρίσαις here as a following wind, see Young 1968: 56–58, although he reads a different text here (ὃς πολὺς εὖ τ' ἂν ἐπιβρίσαις ἔπηται).
[3] See Robbins 1990: 308 for doubts on the earlier victory.
[4] Burton 1962: 78–79; Young 1968: 27; Cingano 1991b: 100; Gentili et al. 1995: 75. For a survey of older scholarship on the date, see Young 1983: 35–36 with nn. 16–19.

may assume that Hieron is ill, and this is confirmed (for what this is worth) by the scholia on the opening lines, which inform us that Hieron suffered from kidney stones (schol. *inscr*. a, b). This condition seems to have stayed with Hieron for the rest of his life; it is presumably behind the comment in *Pythian* 1.50 (dated 470) that Hieron went on campaign "like Philoktetes." The illness does not, in itself, date the poem, since Pindar was perfectly free to refer to it or not, depending on the politics and rhetoric of the moment. Yet there is no reference to the illness in *Olympian* 1 or *Pythian* 2, which we have seen reason to date earlier, and it may perhaps be significant that the illness is mentioned in *Pythians* 1 and 3, both of which postdate 476.[5] For the rest, we are reduced to arguments from silence, with their unpleasant habit of cutting both ways. Duchemin, for example, dated the poem prior to 476, reasoning that Pindar would have mentioned Pherenikos' Olympic victory in 476, if that had already occurred.[6] This logic is countered, as we have seen, by the mention of Aitna, which necessitates a post-476 date. The mention of prior athletic victories is thus not crucial (no mention is made of Pherenikos' prior victories in *Olympian* 1), but what of military victories? One might argue that the poem should predate the Battle of Kumai in 474 since this was Hieron's most significant panhellenic achievement and is showcased in *Pythian* 1, four years after the battle. I find this line of argument convincing and would thus date the poem after the foundation of Aitna and before Kumai.[7] This assessment is, however, based only on the balance of probabilities. Military victory is not a focus of the ode.

The question of date is of course connected with the victory or victories celebrated by the ode. As mentioned above, Pindar refers to the Pythian victories of Pherenikos. Does this mean that the poem should, as David Young argued, be directly associated with the second of these victories? (This would make it the earliest of the Hieron odes preserved.) Even putting to one side the significance of the "guest-friend of Aitna," it is hard to see the poem as a "normal epinician."[8] Each of the other Hieron odes makes an announcement of the victory concerned. This is most obtrusive

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[5] Cf. Robbins 1990: 309.

[6] Duchemin 1970: 82. Young 1983: 42 with n. 33, arguing for a date in 478, is inclined to attach some weight to this argument, but his treatment dismisses the problem of Hieron addressed as "of Aitna" (36 n. 18). Although it is true that we should not be misled by the disagreements in the scholia over the dates at which it is appropriate to call Hieron "king," it seems pointless to associate Hieron with Aitna before the city of that name was founded.

[7] So too Gentili et al. 1995: 81; cf. Cingano 1991b: 103 n. 24 (with a salutary warning on such argumentation).

[8] Young 1983: 42.

in *Pythian* 2, where the announcement opens the ode. In *Olympian* 1 most of the first triad is taken up with the glory of Hieron's Olympic victory. Even in *Pythian* 1, where, as we shall see, hippic victory is merely a sign for other achievements and becomes the focus in the middle of the second triad, we hear that the herald of the Pythian contest announced him as victorious on the racetrack (*P*. 1.32). *Pythian* 3, however, nowhere makes such an announcement; rather, the poet says that he would have been welcome if he had come bringing health and the gleam associated with the Pythian victory (or victories) that Pherenikos once won (73–75). Even for a poet of Pindar's subtlety, this seems a glancing reference.[9] If it were Pindar's first attempt to please Hieron it would scarcely have been a good advertisement for his talents along epinician lines. The poem is much more concerned with placing Hieron's illness in its proper metaphysical context.

If, then, the ode is properly dated after 476, it is unlikely to be intended primarily as a celebration of victory in the Pythian Games of 478, a conclusion supported by the way in which the victory is mentioned. But what implications does this have for composition, performance, and reception? Generations of interpreters have wrestled with the conundrum and have produced a variety of responses. Most popular has been the impulse to see the ode as a poem of consolation, usually consolation for illness; others think the consolation is for Hieron's failure to win at the Pythian Games of 474.[10] This still leaves us with the issue of why the format of a formal epinician ode should have been thought appropriate for a consolatory communication. Hence there arose (with Wilamowitz) the notorious hypothesis of the "poetic epistle" as a solution for the problems posed by the ode: It is not an epinician at all, nor intended for formal performance, but a personal communication for his "sick and despondent friend" because he cannot come to Syracuse.[11] Not until Young's 1983 article was it pointed out that the genre of the poetic epistle is unexampled for Pindar's time and that even if it were not "one is compelled to ask whether glyconics, strophe, antistrophe, and epode are a likely medium for such letters."[12] We are left with the paradox of an ode that points to athletic victory and celebrates the *laudandus* in terms familiar from epinician, but that also presents,

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[9] Cf. Cingano 1991b: 99–100.

[10] Consolation for illness: Mezger 1880: 64–66 (with reference to previous scholarship); Burton 1962: 78–80; cf. Slater 1988; for defeat at the games: Wilamowitz 1922: 283 (*P*. 3 as a *replacement* for the victory ode); both: Cingano 1991b (connecting the ode with Bacchylides 4.11–14); cf. Robbins 1990: 312; Gentili et al. 1995: 78.

[11] Wilamowitz 1922: 280, 283; followed by many (detailed in Young 1983: 31–34).

[12] Young 1983: 33.

unusually, a sober tone focusing on the preponderance of toil and woe in human life: an epinician that has been described as "impure."[13]

The pages that follow will argue that epinician form is indeed significant, even if the poem be described as a consolation. What is at stake is the reconfiguration of such consolatory topoi as words of comfort at a time of illness into a celebration of victory, the transformation of pain into triumph by "turning the good to the outside," as the ode has it. The conceptual framework of athletic competition, as celebrated in epinician, is precisely the experience of pain and toil as a precondition for victory.[14] Hieron's triumph is in life, not just in the games. Victory in the games is not, therefore, central. Clearly, this is a particularly advantageous line for Pindar to take if Hieron's participation in the Pythian Games of 474 was unsuccessful, but even in *Pythian* 1, a poem firmly associated with a particular victory, one would scarcely say that the victory dominates the ode. Rather than agonizing over whether an ode is or is not a "normal" epinician, we need perhaps to expand our notion of epinician, and especially so when the person praised is an autocrat. Someone like Hieron was positioned at the top of society irrespective of whether he participated in the games or not. He and rulers like him entered the games in order to solidify and advertise their prestige among the widest possible panhellenic circle. Commemoration of their victories in this context through dedications at sanctuaries and through epinician odes claimed divine sanction for their success. Athletic victory was, however, just one aspect of their triumph, especially in the case of the Deinomenids, who could point to significant military accomplishments. Epinician was not the only option for poetic celebration of Hieron's regime; we know that Pindar and others composed generically varied songs for the tyrant. Yet an epinician format, one that made connections with athletic victory, had advantages. It was an accepted style of commemoration whose conventions anchored the *laudandus* in panhellenic ethics and accomplishment and thus helped to domesticate him. Commemorating a victory in a horse race provides a safe occasion for the celebration of other triumphs and casts even misfortunes, such as illness and (perhaps) failure to win, in a triumphal light.

It is notable that the odes mentioned by Young when he launched his attack on the notion of a poetic epistle are all composed for addressees associated with Sicilian royalty. These are *Pythians* 1–3 (composed for Hieron), *Olympian* 2 (composed for Theron of Akragas), and *Pythian* 6

[13] Gentili et al. 1995: 81 n. 7.
[14] See below on *P.* 1, 326–28.

and *Isthmian* 2 (composed for Thrasyboulos, Theron's nephew). This left only *Olympians* 1 and 3 as bona fide epinicians. To be sure, Wilamowitz did not claim that all were letters; *Pythian* 1, while refused epinician status, was described as an ode in honor of the foundation of Aitna.[15] Wilamowitz's judgment often seems to rest on whether he considers the subject matter of the ode to be appropriate for an epinician, and he thus excludes poems where the personal voice seems too insistent *(P.* 6) or where the victory at the games is not central enough (*P.* 1–3). If the ode is not an epinician, it is either an expression of personal feeling or written for some other celebration, and if the former, it can be called a letter. But we should distinguish two points here. The first is Wilamowitz's assessment of whether an ode is a "real" epinician. The second is his labeling some odes "epistles." We may find some interest in the first while not accepting the second.

Pythians 1–3 are unusual epinicians, as my analysis shows: poems whose central concern is not necessarily the fact of victory in the games. Instead they expand their concerns outward from such a victory into wider contexts. They establish and celebrate a general victoriousness. Calling any of them an epistle is unhelpful because it misleads and obscures their function. This is not the Augustan Age, where Horace may write a "letter" to Augustus and expect it to be consumed by a reading public. If we are to call poems like *Pythian* 3 a letter, we must then ask whether they were intended for circulation and public or even semipublic performance, whether by a chorus or a solo singer. If not, they would indeed be letters but would, arguably, be pointless. If they are intended for circulation and public performance, as I think they are, nothing is gained by calling them letters.[16] Analysis of *Pythian* 2 in a previous chapter has already shown that the strong impression of personal engagement in the poem is part of a strategic communicative dynamic. It is this engagement, coupled with an aim of expanding the parameters of achievement beyond the athletic, that marks Pindar's odes for Hieron.

Unattainable Wishes

Pythian 3, like the odes to Hieron that precede it, features the punishment of a sinner (or in this case, sinners) who have made the mistake of underestimating the power of the gods and their own place in the cosmic order. The first

[15] Young 1983: 31; Wilamowitz 1922: 296 (on *P.* 1).
[16] See also the remarks of Woodbury 1968: 540 n. 20.

two-thirds of the ode is structured by the narrative of their deeds and subsequent fall. An opening wish that the centaur Chiron were alive such as he was when he nurtured Asklepios leads to the tale of Asklepios' mother Koronis, who, although pregnant with Apollo's child, was unfaithful to him with a stranger from Arcadia. Koronis is typical of those who disdain what is near at hand and engage in vain desires for what is distant (lines 20–25). When Apollo discovers her deceit, he sends his sister Artemis in vengeance and she destroys Koronis along with many neighbors. Apollo cannot, however, endure the death of the fetus along with the mother, so he snatches the child from the womb of his unfortunate mother even while her corpse is burning on the pyre (lines 27–44). Asklepios is raised by Chiron and enjoys success as a healer until he is corrupted by money to raise someone from the dead, whereupon he and his patient are immediately blasted by Zeus' thunderbolt (lines 45–58). After drawing the moral that we should not seek immortal life but must recognize our place, Pindar returns to Chiron. If Chiron were alive, Pindar would have persuaded him to send a healer to Hieron, who rules righteously in Syracuse, and Pindar could have come to Syracuse bringing health and a *kōmos* of songs for Hieron's Pythian victories. Instead, the poet will pray to the Mother (lines 59–79). Hieron is reminded that the gods give more evil than good to mortals, and that the good understand this and make the most of their opportunities. Hieron, indeed, has a greater fate than most, but even the heroes Peleus and Kadmos, who married goddesses and saw the gods at their weddings, did not enjoy uninterrupted good fortune but encountered new grief because of the fates of their children: Ino, Agave, Semele, and Achilles (80–103). In the face of cosmic vicissitude, one must fare well when the gods allow. The only enduring good is the fame crafted by poets, the kind enjoyed by Nestor and Sarpedon (104–115).

The opening of the poem is framed in terms of an unattainable wish. The poet wishes that Chiron were alive, but he has departed.[17] There is no word, yet, as to the application of this wish, but we do, significantly, hear about the circumstances of its enunciation: "if I must [or, if it is fitting to] pray with my own tongue a prayer common to all." The prayer is "common," and the poet considers the propriety of joining in. At the opening of *Olympian* 1, Hieron's success at Olympia generated a movement

[17] There has been some dispute over whether the poet actually makes such a wish, or whether (Young 1968: 28, 33–34) he merely countenances the possibility of making such a wish but then refuses to do so (reading the opening lines as a complete counterfactual condition and making most of the ode into a recusatio). I adopt here the reading of Pelliccia 1987: 40–46, who argues (with extensive parallels) that the construction is that of an unattainable wish with a parenthetical conditional clause commenting on the propriety of that wish.

toward his court and sympotic discourse, from which emerged Pindar's Dorian lyre and his expert song of praise. Now we have a related contrast between the "common" and Pindar's song. "Common" here means that the wish is shared by all, that it is public, but also (as argued by Young and the scholiast) that it is a commonplace. In times of stress, one wishes for a helper, preferably a famous one: "I wish that so-and-so were alive."[18] Pindar must, therefore, decide to what extent he should appropriate this common wish.[19] It is a question both of propriety and of poetic originality. He must join in the—doubtless!—universal prayers for Hieron's health. So far, he is one among many. But he has more to offer his patron than conventional prayers for miraculous healing. His task, as it was in *Pythian* 2, is to theorize the conditions of communal discourse and recognize their implications. In the lines that follow, he explores these implications at length, concluding that wishes to cheat death are fruitless, and worse, that they bring about divine vengeance. Desiring what is far away, as the opening lines of the poem desired Chiron, is something that "many experience" (line 20) but is nonetheless vain. Pindar must, then, dissociate himself from the many, as he will do when he makes his prayer to the Mother in lines 77–78 and dismisses what could have been. The movement of the poem separates Pindar, and then Hieron, from the crowd. The question implicit in the conditional of line 2 will be answered in the negative.

The centaur Chiron is present in the poem not as a healer himself but as a nurturer of Asklepios. Although he is a beast, his mind is friendly toward men, and here he contrasts with the monstrous Kentauros of *Pythian* 2, offspring of the illicit union of Ixion and Nephele whose mating with the mares of Pelion produced the centaurs. Chiron, although he rules on Pelion, is a son of Kronos and is thus not implicated in the negative characteristics of the centaurs. He is, rather, an educator, famed not only as the one who reared heroes such as Peleus, Jason, and Asklepios but as the origin of the "Precepts of Chiron," a collection of improving maxims circulating in the fifth century.[20] The opening wish is thus a prayer not simply for healing

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[18] Young 1968: 30 with nn. 3, 4. Young denies that the word could also imply that the wish is common to all, since he thinks it unlikely that any Syracusan citizen "could be represented, even in an encomiastic poem, as actually wishing for a live Chiron to heal a sick Hieron." Realism is beside the point. What matters is not whether any Syracusans actually wished this, but that they could be represented as doing so. For more on the topos, and its use in situations where a desired person has been lost, see Pelliccia 1987: 51–54.

[19] Gentili et al. 1995: 407 remarks on the tension between the "common" prayer here and Pindar's own later prayer to the Mother. The tension is already present in the collocation of *koinon* and *hameteras* in line 2.

[20] Kurke 1990.

but for the educational resources (divinely sanctioned) to produce heroes. Once we realize that Chiron is gone, we will have to rely on other intellectual resources, foremost among which will be, naturally, Pindar himself.

Paradigms of Transgression

The wish for Chiron's presence and his connection with Asklepios open the great narrative ring that structures the first two-thirds of the poem and closes as the poet prays to the Mother. We move rapidly from Chiron's nurture of Asklepios, the gentle "craftsman of pain's ease," into the narrative of Koronis, thence to Asklepios again, and finally back to Chiron, as the poet redefines for the audience his expectations as to what can and cannot be achieved in the present song. The conceptual place of Chiron and Asklepios in the narrative is relatively unproblematic. They have an obvious relevance to the universal concern (constructed by Pindar) over Hieron's health, and as we shall see, they highlight problems about the possibility and nature of immortality. The role of Koronis, is, however, less clear. Interpreters have often seen her significance as a variant on that of Asklepios, whose relationship with her is the ostensible reason for her introduction into the narrative. Thus Burton, for example, when he evaluates the maxims that close the stories of Koronis and Asklepios, comments that "the thought is essentially the same." Both Koronis and Asklepios fall into *hubris* because they have forgotten their place in the order of things and have not heeded the Delphic command to "Know thyself."[21] It is certainly true that both mother and son fall short of the respect due to divine power and omniscience, but we must not overestimate the sameness of the two stories. As Arrighetti points out, the overriding message of the Asklepios story is that we must not think that we can escape death, and Koronis has only tangential relevance to this theme. The moral of "Know thyself" is an insufficient interpretative key because it is too general and does not make us reflect how such generalities play out in particular situations.[22]

How, then, are the specifics of Koronis' situation handled? We are introduced to her at the moment of her death, subdued by the arrows of Artemis in her own chamber. Unlike Asklepios, whose achievements are the subject of considerable expansion before we hear of his transgression and death, Koronis enters the narrative in defeat and as the object of the divine rage

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[21] Burton 1962: 85, following the lead of Wilamowitz 1922: 282.
[22] Arrighetti 1985: 30, 36.

she had made light of (lines 9–12). Her mistake is a mental one; she acted "in the error of her mind" (13) when she entered into a secret liaison without the knowledge of her father and without waiting for the appropriate ceremonies and bridal songs, all the while pregnant with Apollo's child. Lest we should think that any fool could have recognized that this was a disastrous course of action, Pindar generalizes her attitude in lines 20–24; many of us desire what is absent, reject what is close at hand, and rely on vain hopes. The attentive listener, as I suggested above, may already have made the connection between the "common prayer" for Chiron and the attitude criticized here. In the case of Koronis the consequences are magnified because she has been involved with a god. Her pregnancy means that she is on terms of unusual intimacy with the divine and her attempt to deceive Apollo thus qualifies as reckless delusion (24). The attempt fails, predictably, because for gods, unlike humans, distance makes no difference to the efficacy of their desires. Apollo perceives her treachery even though he is in Delphi and she is in Thessaly, just as he will later reach her burning funeral pyre in one mighty step. Unlike other versions of the myth (particularly the *Ehoiai*, which seems to have been a source for Pindar's version and against which he plays), the god does not learn of her treachery from a watching raven but from the watcher that is his own mind (27–29).[23] Nothing, human or divine, can deceive him. Instead of being the object of divine favor, a "divinity of a different kind" now governs her fate, destroying both her and her neighbors. Koronis' disregard for the context in which she actually existed includes not only her involvement with the god but also her duties toward her family and her society. She deceives her father and deprives her friends and neighbors of the marriage rituals by which they would have integrated her as an adult. It is all the more ironic and upsetting that her actions cause death for her neighbors when Artemis unleashes on the town her arrows of plague. Koronis "shames" what is native both by spurning it and by destroying it.

Koronis' infidelity with Apollo can scarcely be mapped onto Hieron's putative desire to escape his sickness. We must focus rather on her interaction with the divine and on the results this has for the society in which she exists. From the first point of view, we can scarcely escape noticing that her behavior is analogous to that of Tantalos and Ixion in *Olympian* 1 and *Pythian* 2, the two odes for Hieron that precede this one.[24] When

[23] Burton 1962: 82–84; Young 1968: 36–37.

[24] Noted also at Morrison 2007: 97, together with the observation that in some mythological genealogies Koronis was the sister of Ixion.

Jacqueline Duchemin wrote her seminal piece on the "great sinners" of Pindar's Sicilian odes, she concentrated on *Pythians* 1 and 2 (Typhon and Ixion), and *Olympians* 1 and 2 (Tantalos, and the underworld punishments of the unjust). The connection between them was, for her, an interest in underworld punishment linked with Sicilian religious concerns.[25] It is attractive to associate Sicily with particular interest in the fate of the soul in the underworld, and notable that the Hieron odes focus on great sinners, but if we focus too intently on underworld punishment and Sicilian religion, we may overlook Koronis' contribution to this theme.[26] Unlike Tantalos and Ixion, Koronis did not spend time on Olympos and had not been accepted into Olympian society. She was, however, the recipient of divine favor—at least from Pindar's point of view—and enjoyed physical interaction (!) with the divine. Neither Tantalos nor Ixion could support the weight of this good fortune and thus fell into delusion. Tantalos shared the immortal food of the gods with his drinking companions (passing immortal nourishment to those for whom it was not intended) and did not realize that divine favor had put him in a special class. Ixion lusted after Hera, presuming too much on his familiarity with the gods and ended up impregnating an insubstantial cloud. Both of them thought that their transgressions could pass unnoticed.

Koronis fails to see that her relationship with Apollo has set her apart, and worse, she tries to deceive the god, as well as her own father. Tantalos had been honored by the "watchers" of Olympos (*skopoi, O*. 1.54–55) but hoped mistakenly that his actions could escape their notice: "he got an overwhelming ruin (*atan*) . . . if a man hopes to act unnoticed by god (ἔλπεταί / <τι> λαθέμεν ἔρδων), he errs" (*O*. 1.57, 64). Koronis similarly fails to elude her watcher (οὐδ' ἔλαθε σκοπόν), whose infallibility is stressed: "no god, no mortal deceives him in deed or counsel" (*P*. 3.29–30). The word for deceived here, *kleptei*, recalls the failed deceit/theft of Tantalos when he steals divine nectar and ambrosia (*klepsais, O*. 1.60). Tantalos' ruinous delusion (*atan*) is matched by Koronis' (*auatan, P*. 3.24). Removing the raven from the story of Koronis, then, allows Pindar to bring this narrative into line with others where the gods have unmediated knowledge of mortal transgression. The parallels with Ixion are equally striking, although his crime is, in a sense, the inverse of Koronis'. Both engage in illicit sexual activity, such that the maxim applied in Ixion's narrative, "unsanctioned sexual acts cast one

[25] Duchemin 1970: 84–89.

[26] See additionally the cogent arguments of Drew Griffith 1986 that neither Tanatalos nor Ixion is punished in the underworld.

into intense misery" (*P*. 2.35–36), could equally be referred to Koronis. Like Koronis, Ixion exemplifies a larger truth, and the moral is drawn directly after a gnomic passage. In *Pythian* 2, after deprecating unsanctioned sex, the poet remarks "This happened to him too." In *Pythian* 3 the censure of those who love what is far off is applied to the heroine: "The spirit of Koronis . . . fell prey to this great delusion" (*P*. 3.24–25). But whereas Ixion's crime is aspiring to a divine love that was forbidden him since Hera was already the wife of Zeus, Koronis rejects her divine liaison in favor of an unsanctioned mortal love. Her crime is a lawless deceit (*dolon, P*. 3.32), while Ixion's lust results in the deceit (*dolon, P*. 2.39) of the cloud woman, prepared against him by Zeus. Both fall prey to a reckless delusion (*auatan, P*. 2.28, *P*. 3.24) that is the direct result of a corrupted mind: Ixion loves Hera "with maddened wits" (*P*. 2.26) while Koronis acts "in the error of her mind" (*P*. 3.13). Both, in a sense, love what is absent or distant, Koronis because she prefers a stranger from Arcadia to the god close at hand, Ixion because when he does act on his lusts he has sex with something that is not really there at all. He lies with an airy cloud and the product of the coupling is a creature, Kentauros, whose name might be etymologized to mean "prick the breeze."[27] This is a narrative literalization of that vain tribe in *Pythian* 3 who go "hunting after unfulfilled hopes borne on the wind" (*P*. 3.23).

Pindar's Koronis narrative thus plays on the themes and vocabulary that characterized the mythological sections of his two previous odes for Hieron. The point of all three narratives is frustrated closeness with the divine, a frustration caused by the human inability properly to manage divine favor. These failed relationships of closeness are aetiological for the present state of human estrangement from the divine. There was a time when gods and men ate together and even slept together (a motif that will recur at the end of the ode), but those days are gone. For Ixion, Tantalos, and Koronis the gods were, paradoxically, near, as opposed to far.[28] They are thus effective models, for good or ill, for the position of the tyrant on whom "a great fate looks . . . if on any man" as the ode will go on to declare (85–86). We may also remember the close attendance of the gods on Hieron's chariot in *Pythian* 2. These examples teach that with a special relationship come special responsibilities and special opportunities for transgression caused by and resulting in "reckless delusion" (*ata, auata*). In the case of Tantalos and Koronis, the transgressor needed to understand

[27] For this etymology (and other possibilities) see Gentili et al. 1995: 382.

[28] Medda 1989: 297–300 makes the crucial point that Koronis' association with Apollo inverts the usual relationship between near and far. Intimacy with the divine would normally be an example of hopeless aspiration.

that what has been shared with the gods (whether it be food or bodies) cannot lightly be passed on to humans. They needed to respect their superior positions. Ixion on the other hand forgot that, however superior one's position, one cannot be tempted to put oneself on an equal footing with the gods and attempt among them the kind of behavior that would be a scandal even on earth. These are all great sinners, and all receive condign punishment, but what stands behind these narratives is not predominantly a Sicilian obsession with the afterlife, nor a personal predilection on the part of Hieron for such stories; rather, it is a need to create paradigms that reflect the position of an extraordinary man and the mental dangers that threaten him. The divinely favored tyrant comes as close as any man can to reinstituting the relationship that once existed between the gods and their favorites, a relationship that soured through mortal fault and presumption. Pindar's rhetorical conviction that Hieron has already escaped, and will continue to escape, these dangers is an energetic form of praise.

With the rescue of Asklepios, the flavor of the narrative changes as we return to a focus on sickness and healing. The god Apollo, heretofore an instigator of punishment, becomes a purveyor of miraculous safety, as he decides he cannot countenance the death of his son, snatches the baby from the pyre, and gives him to Chiron already marked with a fate of healing. The first stanza of the third triad dwells at length on the details of Asklepios' medical career. He cured those who had been wounded and those who were sick with disease, infection, or fever. He used incantations, potions, poultices, and incision. The result was that he freed people from their "woes" (*acheōn*, 50) and set them upright (53). Asklepios is sent by Apollo to mankind as a culture hero who offers the possibility that mankind might find a cure for the woes that make their lives miserable. The presence of such woes is, of course, a feature of the world after mankind has become estranged from the gods. In Hesiod's *Works and Days* (90–105) the coming of Pandora and her removal of the lid of the pithos that contains the woes of the world causes the presence of evils, toil, and sickness. By making sickness escapable, Asklepios might be said partially to turn the clock back to a time when sickness was absent. This eventually causes his downfall because he turns the clock back too far by resuscitating someone who was "already taken," that is, dead. Bringing someone back to life erases the distinction between gods and men and is the ultimate crime that causes both his own death and that of his patient by Zeus' thunderbolt. Unlike his mother, Asklepios is not on terms of intimacy with the gods, but he does have a quasi-divine gift that must not be misused. Rather than betraying intimacy, he usurps power and thus enters the series

of great sinners punished for their presumption is overstepping the boundaries of their position.

The gnomes that follow reinforce this message: we must seek from the gods only what is appropriate, considering what is in front of our feet, the immediate context, and what our portion in life is. Crucially, we must remember that our minds are mortal and police even our desires. The "mortal minds" of line 59 recall the error of Koronis' mind at line 13. The sequence climaxes with the generalizing exhortation not to be eager for an immortal life, playing mortal minds against the physicality of immortality. Instead, we must use to the full the device that is practicable. As many commentators have noted, the command to look at what is near our feet takes us back to the gnomic complex that concluded the Koronis narrative and its criticism of those who shame the native and desire the distant. Even though Asklepios and Koronis commit different transgressions, their errors have a certain family similarity. They do, however, apply to Hieron in dissimilar ways. As we have seen, the story of Koronis cautions those who might forget that they are set apart, while the application of the Asklepios tale seems more direct. Hieron is ill and doubtless desires healing, even miraculous healing. This is not something Pindar can provide, and the narrative disapproves of those who think they can cheat death. The implication may therefore be that Hieron must bear up under his illness, mortal as he is, and realize that death awaits him as it awaits us all. He must police his thoughts and desire only what is possible.

This is a plausible and not infrequent line of interpretation, yet caution is in order before we construct Asklepios too casually as a negative paradigm for Hieron.[29] Certainly, we have seen that, in his abuse of extraordinary power, Asklepios might be seen as a warning to those tempted towards similar abuse, and a tyrant would be one such. But insofar as Hieron suffers from sickness rather than having the power to heal it, he is unlike Asklepios. The desire for Hieron's healing is not in itself impermissible, only a desire to cheat death altogether. Healing, then, is not the problem. The problem is the inaccessibility of a miraculous healer because the healing hero became corrupted and went too far. The nature of this corruption is interesting. Asklepios was bribed with gold to bring someone back from the dead. Even he was not immune to greed, and even expertise is constrained by the desire for gain (54–56). Asklepios' role here is as an exponent of *sophia*, expertise.[30] Although the poem does appeal later to

[29] See the remarks of Arrighetti 1985: 29–30.
[30] Buongiovanni 1985: 329.

Hieron's knowledge and intelligent judgment, it is technical skill that is in question here. It seems likely then that the poet and his expertise are under scrutiny, and this becomes even more probable when we take in to account that the close of the poem will set up poetry as the realistic and effective counterpart of impossible desires. The threat posed by the activities of Asklepios thus applies to Pindar *and* to Hieron.

The desire for gain (*kerdos*) can characterize poet and patron in two respects. Financial gain or profit may accrue to the poet when the patron pays for his song. Its counterpart is the gain that will accrue to the patron when he is praised by the poet ("he who is well spoken of receives the highest gain"; *I.* 1.51) as well as the benefit to the poet from association with the noble. Yet gain is also problematic because desire for it can bring one close to greed. It is often associated in Pindar with deceit and harm. In *Pythian* 2 it characterized the dishonest slanderers who refuse to praise, and who plot (ineffectively) against others.[31] *Kerdos* as a threat to straight speech would entail flattery, the counterpart to slander, and we know from Pindar's critique of Homer with his sweet voice (*N.* 7.20–23) that he is well aware poetic skill can exaggerate the virtues of its subject. In a poetic context, therefore, the theme of skill corrupted by money must raise the specter of false praise, particularly when, as seems likely in this case, the poem has not been immediately occasioned by an athletic victory. If Pindar were like Asklepios, he could be bribed to give anyone immortality. Yet the specter is raised only to be dismissed, first by the disapproval with which the myth is narrated, second by the cautionary maxims of the gnomic complex (lines 59–62), and third by the way that the poet restates his wish at lines 65–66. There he says that he would have persuaded Chiron to send a healer to *good* men. The qualification is significant. It may be that Pindar is commissioned or rewarded for his services, but he offers those services only to those who deserve them. In retrospect, the profligacy of Asklepios in offering healing to all comers seems problematic.

The patron, on the other hand, is faced by the choice of whether or not to commission poetry. As Kurke has demonstrated, financial loss generates metaphorical gain.[32] The same passage from *Nemean* 7 (cited above) that dealt with the threat of poetic exaggeration also affirms that

> we know of a mirror for noble deeds only in one way . . . if someone wins a recompense for his toils with the words of renowned songs. The wise have

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[31] *P.* 2.78; cf. *N.* 7.18, *N.* 9.33, *P.* 1.92, *P.* 4.140.

[32] For a full treatment of the problem of profit and fame, see Kurke 1991: 228–239.

learned that a third wind will come and are not harmed by the desire for gain. The rich and poor man alike travel towards death's tomb. (*N*. 7.14–20)

The certainty of death makes it pointless to try to hold onto one's wealth, and the only remedy is song. The harm caused here by the desire for gain would be eternal obscurity, and so *Pythian* 1, to be examined in the next chapter, will urge Hieron to continue with his expenditures and spread his sail to the wind rather than be deceived by "shameful gains." Only future report will preserve him (*P*. 1.90–94). These passages show that reluctance to spend one's money on the preservation of one's reputation is a form of greed that is based on the refusal to accept death. If one were not going to die, there would be no need for memorialization in poetry, but the wise know that this is not the case. The corruption of *sophia* (wisdom, expertise) by gain is thus particularly troubling. Asklepios performs transgressively and literally the negotiation between mortality and immortality that occurs in a different sense with the activity of the poet for his patron. His success would have rendered useless Pindar's skill, and he was a threat not only to the separation between men and gods but to the world order that necessitates praise poetry. He must be rejected not because he might have healed Hieron but because he used his talents to bad ends.

Gaining Perspective

As the poet dismisses Asklepios and navigates back toward Chiron and the end of his narrative ring structure, he stresses the necessity of seeking only what is suitable from the gods, remembering one's fate, looking to what is close at hand, and, in an address to his soul, not hankering after immortal life but using to the full the device that is "possible" (59–62). As is generally recognized, these maxims echo those that ended the Koronis narrative, adding a concern for recognizing one's fate.[33] The gnomic passage grows in intensity as we progress from an implied third person ("one must seek what is fitting") to a generalizing first-person plural ("what portion is ours") to a second-person imperative addressed to his soul (still generalizing). The chickens are coming home to roost, and the lines that follow will dwell on the potential contribution of the first-person-singular poet to the happiness of his patron. Pindar and Hieron will emerge climactically from the gnomic background, having learned the lesson taught by the mythical

[33] Burton 1962: 84–86; Buongiovanni 1985: 328.

narratives. Neither must focus on an immortal life; the attempt to overcome death has, indeed, been responsible for the loss of the kind of doctor who might have healed Hieron.

What, then, can be achieved? For Pindar, the possible device is poetic, and he first makes his audience consider what his poetry might have achieved if Chiron had been alive. We note that Chiron is characterized as *sōphrōn*, moderate in his mind, and thus not one to make the same kind of mistake as Asklepios. In making a request of Chiron, then, Pindar would have been obeying his own injunction to think mortal thoughts. Song and medicine merge as the poet speculates that his hymns might have placed a "charm" in his heart (recalling Asklepios' "gentle incantations") that would have persuaded him to send a healer to good men. As I suggested above, this emphasis on prudence, on persuasion, and on the selection of deserving recipients of benefaction sets the interaction of the poet and Chiron apart from the activities of Asklepios. The "honey-sweet hymns" that might have persuaded the centaur would surely have been hymns of praise in honor of Hieron, asserting his qualifications to be included among the "good" who would receive healing. Even though Chiron no longer survives to grant Pindar's request, the hymns still exist and assert Hieron's claim to deserve healing, and much else. Only the brute facts of the current distance between gods and men and the preponderant miseries of the human condition make it unlikely (though possible) that miraculous healing will come. But if it were to come to anyone, it would come to him.

The poet's pleasant fantasy continues as he imagines how he would have crossed the sea to Syracuse and to Hieron, who in his persona as resident (and founder) of Aitna closes the third triad. The next triad thus opens by trumpeting forth the excellences of Hieron's rule as king in Syracuse: he is gentle to his citizens, does not envy the good, and is a father figure to strangers and guests. Enough has been said on tyrannical characteristics in previous chapters to recognize that the evocation of Hieron's "kingship" here stands diametrically opposed to a developing "tyrannical" paradigm. I have argued that the speech of Otanes at Herodotus 3.80 is (though later) representative of this paradigm. Just as Hieron in Pindar is said *not* to envy the good and to be politically gentle, Otanes' monarch "envies the best" and does evil deeds to his townspeople. We may note also that Otanes' monarch should not be envious since "he possesses all good things." The end of the ode is designed to combat this fallacious assessment of human existence: even though blessed, the tyrant is human, and humans receive, on the whole, more woes than blessings. Hieron is an object of admiration and amazement not because he demands flattery but

because of his fatherly qualities. Given that the poet has addressed him as his "guest-friend from Aitna," we are meant to assume that these were qualities displayed toward the poet. These two short lines are thus rich in implication for Hieron, reinforcing his image as a "good king" and as an eager participant in the system of aristocratic international exchange.[34] So it is that Pindar wishes he could gratify his former host by arriving and bringing in return the "twin graces" of health and a victory revel.

The form in which this sentiment is expressed recalls, but does not duplicate, the unattainable wish that opened the poem. Now the poet uses a past counterfactual condition: If he had come with health and a revel, he would have arrived more resplendently than a star. The impetus for the Chiron-Asklepios-Koronis narrative ring is thus marked as an exercise in speculation that must be dismissed as the poet turns to what can be accomplished. The speculation generated its own response. If only Chiron were still alive! But what happened when he was? A tale of human failing and corruption that illuminates by contrast the nature of Hieron's relationship with the divine and showcases the necessity for poetic celebration. It also, by juxtaposing Hieron with the fantasy of Chiron's continued existence, inserts the king into a timeless mythical continuum where he and the poet might have interacted with creatures of legend.

As the counterfactual condition is completed, two items deserve note: the indefinite adverb *pote* ("once") at line 74, and the poet's appearance as a star (75). When Pindar refers to the crowns that Pherenikos "once" won at Delphi (Kirrha), what does this mean for how those victories are configured? The traditional response has been to suppose that the phrasing implies temporal distance between the victories and the present, and it has thus been used as an argument for dating the ode late (the victories referred to having occurred in 482 and 478).[35] Young, on the other hand, although he had originally accepted this argument, later recanted and proposed that the *pote* was "inscriptional," that is, it mimicked the terminology seen in many inscribed epigrams, where "once" represents "the point of view of the future audience or reader, not that of the author of the poem." The poem is, therefore, to be associated with the victory of 478.[36] Yet, as Ettore Cingano remarked in opposing this reconstruction, the context of the adverb is difficult to reconcile with that of an "inscriptional" *pote*. The ode, although it looks to the future, is designed to be heard first

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[34] On Pindaric guest-friendship, see Kurke 1991: 135–169.
[35] Boeckh 1821: 254–255 and (e.g.) Burton 1962: 78.
[36] Young 1968: 27 n. 2; Young 1983: 35–42.

of all in the direct presence of its *laudandus* and celebrates a victory whose effects are immediate and keenly felt.[37] The lines do not announce the perception of Hieron's victories in the future but distance those victories from him in the present (thus reinforcing the moral of focusing on what is close at hand and not desiring the distant[38]). By the same token they set those victories in a quasi-mythical light, since *pote* is most often used in Pindar to mark events in a mythical past. The complex counterfactual, then, juxtaposes the reality of the present (on the positive side, Hieron's kingship, on the negative side, his lack of health) with the shadows of the past (Pherenikos' victories, Chiron). If there is a fleeting echo of the language of epigram, it serves to emphasize the difference between poem and epigram rather than annul it. Such epigrams announce the victory that the victor once won as they point to the monument that is the physical memorial of that victory. Even if the epigrams circulated independently of the monument, they still evoke it. In the case of *Pythian* 3 the reference to the victories is isolated from physical memorialization. The victory revel and the poetry that might have been performed in association with it are only potential, not actual.

The language of arrival in lines 74–76 with its imagery of light and fire evokes the atmosphere of a saving epiphany but, as Slater has pointed out, because it is counterfactual, inverts the motifs of the kletic paian and rejects the possibility of arrival as an epiphanic savior.[39] Adding to the complexity here is the way this evocation recalls the opening of *Olympian* 1 and Pindar's celebration of Pherenikos' victory at Olympia.[40] In 476, the chorus had sung that an Olympic victory outshone all others as the sun during the daytime outshines all other stars, and that Pherenikos' victory caused the "wise" to come to Hieron's hearth (3–11). The mention of Hieron's just rule and his love of music culminated in his description as "the king of Syracuse who delights in horses," and the statement that his fame "shines" in the Peloponnese (23–24). Now the poet's arrival bringing health and a revel would have been more resplendent than a heavenly star. No longer is Olympic victory the most brilliant light, but victory combined with health, and on this occasion the poet does not arrive in Syracuse as he did before. We may conclude that the conception of victory has been deepened by the fact of Hieron's illness, which has necessitated a more

[37] Cingano 1991b: 98–99.
[38] Robbins 1990: 308–310.
[39] Slater 1988: 57–59.
[40] Noted at Morrison 2007: 96–97.

nuanced appreciation of vicissitude's effect on the lives of those who are most greatly blessed. We had already learned from the end of *Olympian* 1 that "different men are great in different ways" and that "the furthest peak is reached by kings" (113–114).[41] These sentiments were associated with the desire for still greater good fortune, an Olympic chariot victory (109–111); even in the absence of that victory, Hieron still reached the peak by virtue of his kingship. *Pythian* 3 has the same emphasis on the preeminence of kings, but the variation associated with greatness now allows simultaneous misfortune. Reference to past victory points up its absence in the present, but, as the remaining verses of the ode will show, this absence does not lessen the value of Hieron's kingly destiny. Understanding this destiny is true victory; triumph in horse races plays its part, but only a part. Hieron's distance from these victories can help him put them in perspective.

Exploiting the "Possible Device"

We are left, in the absence of the victory revel, with the song we have, marked by its measured assessment of Hieron's place in the cosmic order and by Pindar's prayer to the Mother (77–79) when the narrative ring finally concludes. This prayer for Hieron's well-being demonstrates obtrusively that the poet has learned the lesson of asking appropriate things from the gods. Humble petition replaces the persuasive charms that he might have exercised on Chiron. As previous interpreters have pointed out, the Mother is celebrated at the poet's doorstep and thus fulfills the requirement to look to what is close at hand.[42] The nighttime choruses of maidens who sing to her contrast the maiden choruses for whose evening performance Koronis refused to wait when she engaged in her illicit love affair with Ischys. The implication is that Pindar is showing patience and submission to divine will (on Hieron's behalf) where Koronis did not. And once again, the voice of the poet is juxtaposed to the multiple voices of the community. Whereas Koronis set herself against communal standards, Pindar's goals harmonize with them, even as he establishes a special efficacy for his own song. We saw at the beginning of the ode how he problematized the question of whether he should participate in the universal desire for Chiron's continued survival and how this issue led to the elaboration of the stories

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[41] As Arrighetti 1985: 35 notes, the exhortation at *O*. 1.114 to "look no further" corresponds perfectly to *P*. 3's motif of being content with what is close at hand and rejecting desire for the distant.

[42] Young 1968: 49.

of Koronis and Asklepios. Now that he has explored the relevant implications, he returns to communal prayer rather than communal fantasy. Yet his audience still wonders what Pindar's particular contribution to Hieron will be. After all, prayer to divinity is not a skill confined to poets. If he is to exhaust every possible device, he must not only join in communal prayer but move effectively beyond it. In the case of Chiron, this would have entailed persuading, through song, the centaur to act rather than just wishing for his existence. What will his device be in the real world?

As the remainder of the poem will show, Pindar can promise the tyrant a practical immortality and, as a uniquely authoritative poet, can effectively distill and reissue traditional wisdom in a way that makes it useful to Hieron. Let us start with the latter. At line 80 Pindar suddenly employs direct address to Hieron himself, a further increase in intensity. The topic is Hieron's ability (or so the poet hopes) to draw correct inferences from those who have preceded him. If you, Hieron, can take the point of *logoi*, "you know, because you have learnt it from those who have come before, that the immortals distribute to mortals two woes together for each good." There is general agreement that the reference here is to Homer's *Iliad* 24.527–528, where Achilles tells Priam that they should cease lamenting since the gods alone are carefree, while mortals have a life that is either a mix of good and evil or unmixed evil.[43] Hieron, then, is understood to know his Homer and be able to draw the appropriate conclusion. His intellectual capacities are thus crucial for the establishment of a successful relationship with the gods and with history: not for him the mental lapses that characterized Koronis, Asklepios, and the sinners mentioned earlier in this chapter.[44]

Those familiar with the Homeric context will see that a portion of the last part of the poem is a refashioning by Pindar of the Homeric passage,

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[43] Young 1968: 50–51; Robbins 1990: 313–314. I pass over the problem of whether Pindar has misunderstood how many jars there are in Homer. Cannatà Fera 1986 interprets Pindar's lines as an intervention in the dispute over the correct interpretation of the Homeric passage. Most recently, Currie 2005: 391–392 has argued forcefully that there is no Homeric allusion here, that we should "punctuate with a full stop after 80," and that the reference to learning and earlier people should be read as an allusion to the mysteries. The knowledge concerned would then be mystically connected knowledge on the significance of Pindar's prayer to the Mother. This is an intriguing suggestion, yet it is unclear to me precisely how isolating Hieron from the rest of his audience (that is, he would understand the allusion, but others would not) functions in terms of the public reception of the poem. A prayer for divine favor and healing scarcely needs mystical connections to be effective, and when Pindar makes references to the mysteries in *O*. 2, he is careful to specify the content of the knowledge in question. In any case, the allusion to the Homeric passage is not confined to the gnome itself but carries with it a significant Homeric context, as I shall shortly discuss.

[44] See also Arrighetti 1985: 36–37.

and so it is worth recalling what Achilles says. We note first that the *Iliad* passage is explicitly consolatory as Achilles laments for his own father and for Patroklos, Priam for Hector. When Achilles talks about the jars of miseries and blessings, he recalls the example of his own father, on whom the gods showered blessings the day he was born. He "surpassed all men in prosperity and wealth, he ruled over the Myrmidons, and although he was a mortal they gave him an immortal wife" (24.535–537). Yet he had only one child, doomed to an untimely end. Similarly, Priam excelled in wealth and sons all within his sphere of influence, but in his old age he was surrounded by war. The fourth triad of *Pythian* 3 begins, as we have seen, with references to Hieron's regal authority before addressing present ill fortune and alluding to the Homeric pithoi. This is, in turn, followed by a return to the regal theme ("a great fate looks upon an autocrat who leads his people, if on any man," 85–86) and the introduction in lines 86–88 of Peleus and Kadmos as examples of mortals who enjoyed the highest good fortune but great woes also through their children. The parallels between Homer and Pindar go beyond the references to "two old men made sorrowful by their children."[45] The aspects of the Homeric passage Pindar picks up on or alters tell us much about his current purpose. Peleus and Priam are both characterized in Homer by prosperity (*olbos*: *Il.* 24.536, 543) to an extent surpassing other men; in Pindar this translates into "highest prosperity" (89). Absent in Pindar is the stress on the wealth and lordship of Peleus and Kadmos; the motif of kingly power instead characterizes Hieron. Although Achilles does mention the divine marriage of his father, this is but one item in a catalogue of blessings. In Pindar we move swiftly from *olbos* to a nine-line expansion on the details and significance of the marriages of Peleus and Kadmos: the Muses sang at their marriages, and the gods attended the wedding feasts and gave bride gifts. We thus return to the atmosphere of a happier past, when as noted earlier gods and humans were on more intimate terms, feasting together and engaging in marriage exchange. Yet even then, as in the other odes we have examined, the closeness breaks down. We are reminded that the world of myth in the Hieron odes centers on a transitional period in which happy intimacy gives way to estrangement and grief, marked by a death whose only mitigation is fame. In the case of Peleus and Kadmos (unlike Ixion and Tantalos), the fault is not theirs, and they are thus comfortable comparanda for a monarch of surpassing *olbos* whose luck seems to have turned.

[45] Robbins 1990: 313.

Hieron has his "portion of happiness," one that is connected to his position as an autocrat (tyrant). We move now from the intimacy of direct address back to pointed generalities: "a great fate looks upon an autocrat who leads his people, if on any man" (85–86). The formulation "if on any, then on him," a form of the superlative vaunt, identifies Hieron's position as preeminent within the human community.[46] In the minds of an audience where the Homeric passage has been activated, this reference to the superlative fate of a leader already evokes the destiny of Peleus. The use of *tyrannon* here marks the only time in his preserved corpus Pindar mentions a "tyrant," although he twice mentions tyrannies.[47] It clearly refers to Hieron, though at one remove, and we are thus to conclude that in the ideological world of the poem there is no distinction between Hieron as a king, which he is at line 70, and a tyrant. Not only a tyrant, but a "leader of his people" (*lagetan*), a designation Pindar uses elsewhere only for mythological characters.[48] No sooner have the realities of Hieron's illness been addressed than Pindar isolates him once more from the world of ordinary mortals. His woes, then, not only prove that he is mortal, like us all, but associate him with mythical heroes who enjoyed the highest privileges, Peleus and Kadmos.

The fourth triad closes with the double vignette of the Muses singing at the wedding feasts of Kadmos and Peleus. The heroes "are said" to have enjoyed the highest prosperity—and they heard the Muses. Human report and divine song are juxtaposed, mediated, and combined by the expertise of the poet. The juxtaposition perhaps implies that their prosperity comprised, among other blessings, their chance to hear the song of the Muses; marriage hymns include praise of the bridegroom and so the celebration of their felicity would have foreshadowed Pindaric praise.[49] Pindar's expansion of the motif of human and divine closeness at the weddings intensifies the contrast between bliss and misfortune and also marks the deepening of the audience's understanding of the role played by each in human life. The mix of the two is characteristic, something the foolish do not understand, something it takes a poet to communicate. Hence the evocation of the *Iliad* passage, and the modulation from indirect discourse (Peleus and

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[46] Young 1968: 52 n. 2.

[47] At *P*. 11.53 he "blames the lot of tyrannies," while at *P*.2.87 he asserts that a straight-talking man can excel in any constitutional situation, whether democracy, oligarchy, or tyranny (see Chapter 1, 13–14, and Chapter 5, 197–98.)

[48] *O*. 1.89 (the sons of Pelops), *O*. 10.31 (Perseus), *P*. 4.107 (Aiolos). Luraghi 2011: 34–35 sees Pindar's goal here as whitewashing the disreputable concept of tyranny, but my argument sees his strategy here as a subtler intervention.

[49] Cf. *N*. 5.22–39, where the marriage song of the Muses merges into Pindar's narrative of Peleus' virtue.

Kadmos *are said* to have enjoyed the highest prosperity) to direct speech as the poet nuances the popular understanding of their bliss. They were greatly favored by the gods and yet suffered through their children. They had suffered "toils" prior to their marriages, after which their hearts were set upright through Zeus' favor, but no favor lasts forever. The piercing sufferings of his daughters destroyed Kadmos' joy. The death of Achilles caused lamentation among the Greeks (note once again the modulation to communal activity).

Yet even here, the combination of blessings and woes continues. Kadmos' daughters suffered, as did Kadmos, but in the case of the death of Semele, favor and death are intimately connected. Zeus came to her bed (and, we know, made her pregnant with Dionysos) yet this very favor caused her incineration. Semele is a balancing element to Koronis: both burned, both with children snatched from their blazing corpses, though we are given no reason to believe that Semele's death was a result of transgression; rather it seems a kind of Aeschylean "violent grace."[50] It did, however, result in the birth of a god. The fate of Achilles loomed large in the Homeric passage discussed above. In the *Iliad* scene he looks forward only to his own untimely end and his father's mourning. Here Pindar can offer a corrective (one in line with Achilles' recognition elsewhere that his fame will be eternal). He knows that Achilles' achievements will be immortalized by Homer and deployed paradigmatically by himself and others. Achilles' Homeric fate and choice to enjoy a short life of fame given the certainty of death will be echoed in the words of Pelops (another casualty of the estrangement between gods and mortals) in *Olympian* 1.82–83: since we must necessarily die, "why should anyone sit in the darkness and vainly boil away a nameless old age?"[51] Even more crucial is the communal lamentation for Achilles' death.[52] Such lamentations encompass praise and give rise to

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[50] Currie 2005: 397–401 suggests that the example of Semele (as of Peleus, Kadmos, and Achilles) can be "accommodated to a positive point of view" (401). This will only work, however, if the knowledge of a blissful afterlife for these figures is active in the minds of the audience. Currie can prove that there were some traditions to this effect, but not that Pindar has activated them here. At stake, as Currie realizes, is the issue of the limits of allusion (364). These are, as he remarks "notoriously difficult to circumscribe." It is certainly not impossible to imagine "open endings" as part of Pindaric poetics, but it still seems preferable to invoke them only when they cohere with the gnomic structure of the ode. I cannot see how happy endings for Achilles, Kadmos, or Semele are hinted at or allowed for in the language of lines 86–103.

[51] Krischer 1981.

[52] In some versions of Achilles' funeral, the Muses sang the lament as part of a ritual that involves both mortals and immortals (*Od.* 24.60). In the present context, only the role of the community is stressed.

oral tradition, which is then formulated and reissued by the poet (as we shall see again at the end of the ode). Achilles' eternal fame is adumbrated in the groans around his pyre, although it is not until the end of the ode that the mechanism becomes explicit. This element thus softens the harshness of the death of Peleus' only child (a detail present in both Pindar and Homer). The woe of premature death impinges on many characters in the poem, sometimes through their own fault, sometimes not, but it is connected with divine favor. Even the threat that hangs over Hieron, then, aligns him with exceptional characters from the past. They are all connected by a "great fate."

The final lines of the poem (103–115) again generalize the vicissitude motif and make explicit the contribution of poetry. We return to the issue of understanding, but Hieron is not now specifically its subject. "If you know, Hieron, how to understand correctly the point of speeches, you know . . . that the immortals distribute to mortals two woes together for each good" (80–82) has become "If a mortal keeps in his mind the path of truth, he must be in good spirits when he receives good things from the immortals" (103–104).[53] Having successfully placed Hieron in a heroic context, we now circle back to everyman. Since the winds of fate blow in various directions and great *olbos* does not last for long, it behooves the speaker (now in the first person) to adapt himself to circumstances. The earlier exhortation to seek what is possible and exploit the "possible device (*machanan*)" (59–62) is now repeated in the poet's determination to cultivate his fate in accordance with his own device (*machanan*, 109). The initial mention of this device had conjured up the persuasion of Chiron and the counterfactual victory revel of lines 63–76. Now that the themes of divine favor and punishment have been complicated by the unpredictability of vicissitude, poetic skill must take this into account. The poet, still speaking to some degree as everyman, avers that he will be adaptable, but, importantly, he adds that if god grants him wealth, he hopes to win lofty fame (110–111). The collocation here of hope and loftiness, even faced with the blasts of high-soaring winds, reminds us, of course, of the vain mortals earlier in the poem, who hunted after unfulfilled hopes borne on the wind. The same elements are redeployed here more optimistically.[54] Enduring fame is winnable through poetry.

One relatively recent reading of the ode, by Bruno Currie, has proposed that this interpretive strategy is too reductive an approach, and it is worth

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[53] Young 1968: 56; Currie 2005: 399–402.

[54] On the wind imagery at the end of the ode, see Young 1968: 56–58.

pausing for a moment to consider why I find his alternative unsatisfactory. Currie brings into association with the ode a variety of evidence on fifth-century beliefs in immortality: cult connected with heroes and the blissful fate of mystic initiates after death. He presents fascinating material on ancient beliefs in immortalization through fire and stresses the importance of the rise of the cult of Asklepios as god in the fifth century. Taken together, this material suggests to him that immortality in song is not an exclusive model in the poem. Rather, the poem displays an "inclusive" model of immortality, where immortality in song can be combined with "hopes of a literal form of immortality." In this model, Hieron's role as hierophant in the mysteries of Demeter and Persephone, coupled with intimations of cult for several of the mythological persons mentioned in the ode and the significance of fire (seen by Currie as a mode of immortalization), implies that Hieron can look forward not only to poetic immortality but to something "more substantial." [55] As discussed in Chapter 2, Hieron certainly campaigned for and anticipated his own cult, and this may be reflected in the connections between Pelops and Hieron in *Olympian* 1. The question is the extent to which Pindar constructed the dynamics of *Pythian* 3 to play on this desirable eventuality and whether hope for hero cult might be felt to be equivalent to a "literal" immortality that improved on a poetic version.

Mystic initiates undoubtedly looked forward to a happy afterlife, and as initiate and hierophant Hieron could also. But one wonders whether this fate was so exceptional that Pindar would make it into a powerful subtext for his exceptional *laudandus*. The Mother might intercede for Hieron, but so might she for anyone else. When mysteries are evoked in *Olympian* 2, the poem makes special provision for the exceptionally virtuous dead (travel to the Isles of the Blest to consort with a proportion of the heroic dead—but, clearly, not all of them). In *Pythian* 3 mystery beliefs are, first of all, not explicit, and second, they do no special conceptual work, since a happy afterlife is not the focus of the poem. What of immortalization and the promise of cult? Here I must insist, even in the face of Currie's thoughtful argumentation, that unless Pindar gives us reason to activate these associations, they cannot be made the focus of our interpretation. And in fact, he gives us good reason not to activate them: the exhortation in line 61 not to seek for an immortal life. Despite the assertion that the perspective of a gnome "is limited and its content always open to revision,"[56]

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[55] Currie 2005: 344–405, especially 403–405.
[56] Currie 2005: 80–81.

the gnomai of the poem and its myths tell a consistent story that nothing in the ode suggests we should dismiss: We must recognize our distance and estrangement from the gods and from immortality.[57] A good intertext is one that is marked and significant.[58] What of the listener or reader who made connections with the immortality of Asklepios anyway? How would (s)he interpret them? I would argue that instances of immortalization by fire (and so on) could be present only under erasure, as a model to read against. Even if Asklepios had been heroized or divinized in some places in Greece when this poem was performed, this would fall under the heading of "desiring the distant" in the poem's somber vision. The most active dynamic in the ode, one with which it begins and ends, is that between popular and poetic discourse. The latter arises from, transforms, and corrects the former; this is the arena where the most positive action of the ode takes place. Enduring fame is the only form of immortality seriously considered in the poem.

Nestor and Sarpedon

The final paradigms of the poem, Nestor and Sarpedon, make this point with particular emphasis. There has long been puzzlement over Pindar's reasons for choosing these two characters from epic to stress that our knowledge of heroic achievement is mediated by poetry: We know Nestor and Sarpedon, "the talk of men" through the words that experts have composed. Their excellence endures because of song. Speculation has covered a wide range of options, from the suggestion that the names are chosen almost at random to the notion that they are types of wisdom and courage respectively, to the proposal that they are types of longevity.[59] Sider has usefully remarked that both heroes exemplify what he calls the *non omnis moriar* theme. So Sarpedon claims that he and Glaukos are already looked on as gods (*Il*. 12.310–328), and Nestor too (*Il*. 11.761) tells of a time when all gave glory to Zeus among the gods and Nestor among men.[60] Even more significant, however, is how Homer deploys the heroes in the *Iliad* to underline the inexorability of death and the relentless advance of old age and its concomitant weakness. To begin

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[57] Again, *Olympian* 2 is a good comparandum here. When Pindar wants us to remember that Ino and Semele enjoyed happy endings, he tells us so (*O*. 2.23–31).
[58] Fowler 2000: 122.
[59] For this last, see Miller 1994.
[60] Sider 1991.

with Sarpedon: there are two places in the *Iliad* where Sarpedon is at the center of a profound meditation on the inevitability of death. In the first, he speaks to Glaukos when he decides to scale the Achaian wall, pointing out that they are the leaders of the Lycians and therefore receive particular honors at banquets and live on great estates; they are looked on like gods. It is therefore their duty to fight in the front lines so that they Lycians may say that "our kings" (ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες) earn their primacy (*Il*. 12.310–321). He then proceeds to further generalization (*Il*. 12. 322–328):

ὦ πέπον εἰ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντε
αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλοιμεν ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε
ἔσσεσθ', οὔτέ κεν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μαχοίμην
οὔτέ κε σὲ στέλλοιμι μάχην ἐς κυδιάνειραν·
νῦν δ' ἔμπης γὰρ κῆρες ἐφεστᾶσιν θανάτοιο
μυρίαι, ἃς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι,
ἴομεν ἠέ τῳ εὖχος ὀρέξομεν ἠέ τις ἡμῖν.

Alas! If only we could flee this war and
always be immortal and ageless,
neither would I myself fight among the foremost,
nor would I send you into battle that brings glory to men.
But since as it is countless fates of death stand over us,
which a mortal cannot flee or avoid,
let us go and offer to someone a chance to vaunt—or let
someone offer it to us.

This sequence has lessons to teach someone in Hieron's position.[61] First of all, it lays out a basis for the enjoyment of kingly honors. Kings feast and enjoy their estates; in return they must take on the role of leadership (in battle). In the body of the poem, Pindar has called Hieron king (71), father (71), and a *tyrannos* who is "leader of the people" (85); he has lived up to the Homeric model. Even more significant is Sarpedon's counterfactual meditation. If he could live forever he would not put himself in harm's way, but since he must die he will conform to the expectations of his position and seek glory.[62] The counterfactual in this well-known passage resonates strongly with the counterfactual mood that governs *Pythian*

[61] Gentili 1995: 435.
[62] Tsitsibakou-Vasalos 2010: 40–41.

3 and forms one more link between Sarpedon and Hieron. Nor will it be the last evocation of a contrary-to-fact possibility, as we shall see when we come to Nestor.

Four books after his conversation with Glaukos, Sarpedon's fate of death is about to catch up with him in another famous episode. Sarpedon, we recall, is the son of Zeus and fated to die at the hands of Patroklos. Zeus laments his forthcoming death to Hera and wonders whether to rescue him from the battle and his fate. Hera protests:

> αἰνότατε Κρονίδη ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες.
> ἄνδρα θνητὸν ἐόντα πάλαι πεπρωμένον αἴσῃ
> ἂψ ἐθέλεις θανάτοιο δυσηχέος ἐξαναλῦσαι;
>
> Most dread son of Kronos, what sort of word have you spoken?
> A man who is mortal and long-ago doomed by fate—
> Do you wish to set him free from hateful death?
>
> (*Il.* 16.440–442)

In such an instance, she speculates, the gods will be angry and some might try to save their own children. Instead of courting such anarchy, Zeus should allow Sarpedon to die, dear though he be, and have his corpse removed from the battlefield and given honorable burial. This is the prerogative of those who have died (*Il.* 16.432–457). It is notable how this episode echoes the issues foregrounded in *Pythian* 3 and acts as a commentary on them. Zeus himself wishes to save a beloved mortal from death, but he is persuaded not to do so in order to preserve the decrees of fate. Postmortem honors are the only option open. This creates a kind of mythological a fortiori argument: if Zeus will not even save his son, how much less possibility was there for Asklepios to bring someone back from the dead who had already died! Even if Hieron is beloved by the gods, he too must suffer the fate of all mortals. Like Sarpedon, he will be honored after death, both by physical monuments and by the song exemplified here by the Homeric epics. Such song is, of course, left unmentioned by Zeus and Hera in the *Iliad,* but it is thematized by Pindar, and indeed, by Homeric practice.

The case of Nestor brings us back again to the role played by the unattainable wish in *Pythian* 3. Hayden Pelliccia has already noted that the poem participates in an established literary type where a wish is followed by narrative insertion: the (unattainable) wish that Chiron were alive is followed by the stories of Koronis and Asklepios. He supplies several Homeric comparanda of which one group is of particular interest: "these

lengthy narrative insertions are especially beloved by Nestor and are partly responsible for his reputation for long-windedness."[63] These narratives typically begin with Nestor's wish that he were as young and mighty as he was when, long ago, he defeated a certain enemy in battle. Nestor wishes for the restoration of his youth so that he might attend to present crises. This is, unfortunately, not a desire that can be fulfilled, as we see in a short version of the topos:[64]

> Ἀτρεΐδη μάλα μέν τοι ἐγὼν ἐθέλοιμι καὶ αὐτὸς
> ὣς ἔμεν ὡς ὅτε δῖον Ἐρευθαλίωνα κατέκταν.
> ἀλλ' οὔ πως ἅμα πάντα θεοὶ δόσαν ἀνθρώποισιν·
> εἰ τότε κοῦρος ἔα νῦν αὖτέ με γῆρας ὀπάζει.
> ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἱππεῦσι μετέσσομαι ἠδὲ κελεύσω
> βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισι· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ γερόντων.
>
> Son of Atreus, I myself could wish very much
> to be the way I was when I killed god-like Ereuthalion.
> But somehow the gods do not give all things at the same
> time to mortals;
> As surely as I was once a youth, now in turn old age accompanies me.
> But even so I will be among the horsemen and urge them on
> with my counsel and my speech—for this is the prerogative of the old.
> (*Il.* 4.318–323)

The wish to turn back the clock is closely comparable to Pindar's wish that Chiron were still alive. Even more interesting is the old man's theoretical comment that the gods do not give all things to mortals at once. As a result he will engage in the activities proper to his time of life. In *Pythian* 3 such commentary is found in the poet's observation that the gods distribute two woes to mortals for each good (81–82). Nestor's willingness to contribute where he can connects with poet's gnomic willingness to honor in his mind the divinity that attends him and cultivate it according to his means (108–109).

In each poem, physical debility is counterbalanced by speech, and as was the case with Sarpedon, we have the evidence of Homer and the assurance of Pindar that great achievement when memorialized in song will not be forgotten. Both Homer's Sarpedon, then, and his Nestor are evoked in *Pythian* 3 because they introduce counterfactual possibilities into Homeric narrative, moments when a character wishes that the current world order

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[63] Pelliccia 1987: 53–54.
[64] Other examples cited at Pelliccia 1987: 53: *Il.* 7.132–133 with 157, 11.670, 23.629.

could somehow be overridden but when the possibility is dismissed because it runs counter to standard divine practice. They resonate strongly with Hieron because fate or weakness or some combination of both has prevented them from achieving all that they might. Just as their counterfactuals prefigure his, so does their fame. Excellence endures because of song, though few achieve this. The "talk of men" both generates and is the result of song. The reputations of the heroes of the Trojan War progressed from the lips of men to crystallization in epic song, which in turn ensures that they are still the object of talk. The necessity for mortal adaptability gives way at the end of the ode to elite achievement, made possible and perpetuated by wealth. Hieron emerges once more from the crowd, as does his poet, and we are left with the only practical means to immortality, the song that makes excellence last.

Conclusion

Pythian 3, as Mezger noted, sets the craft of Asklepios against that of Pindar. Just as Asklepios is a "craftsman of pain's ease" (line 6) as the poem opens, so the composers of resounding words at the close are "craftsmen" (113).[65] Headlining the issue of health meant that physical well-being, pain, and pain's release stood in the foreground and that the possibility of literally undoing death could be explored and rejected.[66] The issue of the function of praise poetry is rendered especially pressing by illness. It makes all metaphors literal. In the face of this, Pindar must insist on the primacy of poetic toils and immortality. The reference to a "craftsman of pain's ease" recalls for us the talents of the singer in Hesiod's *Theogony* (98–103), whose song makes its listeners forget all their sorrows. The linkage between song and medicine is not infrequent in Pindar,[67] and we are often reminded of the power of song to aid forgetfulness of toils in a victory context (a topic to which I shall return in the next chapter). At the opening of *Nemean* 4.1–6 we learn that "Festivity is the best doctor for toils that have been judged, and songs, the wise daughters of the Muses, grasp hold of them and soothe them, nor does warm water make the limbs so soft as praise does, the companion of the lyre. Speech lives longer than deeds." The physicality of the language here and the explicit contrast with

[65] Mezger 1880: 72–73; Young 1968: 61–63, 67.
[66] See Slater 1988: 53–55 for further discussion of song as a foil for an unrealizable utopian wish.
[67] Steiner 1986: 56–57.

medicine makes this passage a good comparison for the themes of *Pythian* 3. The poet starts the ode pondering the extent to which he should associate himself with conventional wishes for health and healing, issues complicated by the privileged position of Hieron vis-à-vis the gods. Realizing the impossibility of literal immortality, the poet explores the possibility that his songs might have persuaded Chiron to send a healer, but of course Chiron is gone. What else might poetry achieve? A victory celebration—but there is currently no victory to celebrate, and we are brought face to face with the unpredictability of fortune. Poetry can crystallize this lesson, and thus a consolatory function of the poem is fulfilled. But more still is possible: endurance through time, not of one's body but of one's excellence. The conceptual movement of the poem progresses from poetry as a handmaid to medical aims ("could I have persuaded Chiron to send a healer?") to its emergence as an authoritative replacement for medical goals. Pindar moves away from the "common prayer" of line 2, to his own prayer to the Mother and the rarefied "few" of the last line who can generate and deserve lasting praise.

Pindar's authority here comes from his ability to set commonplaces within a larger cosmic framework and integrate Hieron into a long history of mortal-immortal interaction starting in the mythological past. He mediates for Hieron the lessons of this framework because he understands, as the common man and as the king cannot do, how the process works. These have their desires and their platitudes: long life, health, and prosperity are among the former, and consolatory topoi, such as the short life of bliss and the mixed nature of the divine dispensation, are among the latter. But it is poetic mediation that enables the long view. In addition to myths like those of Koronis and Asklepios, Pindar can use epic treatment of mythical material to make his point in the last part of the ode (80–115), using not only the content of the poetry (the distribution of goods by the gods, the death of Achilles, the mortality of Nestor and Sarpedon) but also its frame, the fact that Achilles' fame endures through poetic celebration, as does that of Nestor and Sarpedon. Their toils and sorrows are transfigured. The poet thus activates for Hieron what he already knows from his reception of Homer. Similarly in *Pythian* 2.72 he activated Hieron's self-knowledge: "learn what kind of man you are and show yourself to be so." *Pythian* 3 is characterized by progressive complication as the poet authoritatively transforms popular commonplace into art. This transformation parallels the realization, rehearsed in the myths of Koronis and Asklepios and again in those of Peleus and Kadmos, that mankind has slowly grown away from the gods,

and through its own fault. Sexual and social intimacy with the divine is no longer possible, and the move from divine intimacy to mortal song is figured in the change from the Muses as performers at the weddings of Peleus and Kadmos to the communal lamentation at the funeral of Achilles and finally to the songs that ensure the fame of Nestor and Sarpedon. More is at stake, then, than pondering a refusal to engage in morally questionable wishes. We are dealing with a complex negotiation between physical and nonphysical immortality, money, deservingness, convention, and commonplace. Consolation for illness (or even athletic defeat) becomes generalized into consolation given to a heroic figure for the limits imposed by mortality, a consolation of which even the greatest hero with the greatest accomplishments is in need.

CHAPTER 8 | *Pythian* 1: A Civic Symphony

Α′ Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων
σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον· τᾶς ἀκούει
μὲν βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά,
πείθονται δ᾽ ἀοιδοὶ σάμασιν
ἀγησιχόρων ὁπόταν προοιμίων
ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς ἐλελιζομένα.
καὶ τὸν αἰχματὰν κεραυνὸν σβεννύεις (5)
αἰενάου πυρός. εὕδει δ᾽ ἀνὰ σκά-
πτῳ Διὸς αἰετός, ὠκεῖ-
αν πτέρυγ᾽ ἀμφοτέρωθεν χαλάξαις,

ἀρχὸς οἰωνῶν, κελαινῶπιν δ᾽ ἐπί οἱ νεφέλαν
ἀγκύλῳ κρατί, γλεφάρων ἀδὺ κλάϊ-
θρον, κατέχευας· ὁ δὲ κνώσσων
ὑγρὸν νῶτον αἰωρεῖ, τεαῖς
ῥιπαῖσι κατασχόμενος. καὶ γὰρ βια- (10)
τὰς Ἄρης, τραχεῖαν ἄνευθε λιπών
ἐγχέων ἀκμάν, ἰαίνει καρδίαν
κώματι, κῆλα δὲ καὶ δαιμόνων θέλ-
γει φρένας ἀμφί τε Λατοί-
δα σοφίᾳ βαθυκόλπων τε Μοισᾶν.

ὅσσα δὲ μὴ πεφίληκε Ζεύς, ἀτύζονται βοάν
Πιερίδων ἀΐοντα, γᾶν τε καὶ πόν-
τον κατ᾽ ἀμαιμάκετον,
ὅς τ᾽ ἐν αἰνᾷ Ταρτάρῳ κεῖται, θεῶν πολέμιος, (15)
Τυφὼς ἑκατοντακάρανος· τόν ποτε

Κιλίκιον θρέψεν πολυώνυμον ἄντρον· νῦν γε μάν
ταί θ' ὑπὲρ Κύμας ἁλιερκέες ὄχθαι
Σικελία τ' αὐτοῦ πιέζει
στέρνα λαχνάεντα· κίων δ' οὐρανία συνέχει,
νιφόεσσ' Αἴτνα, πάνετες χιόνος ὀξείας τιθήνα·

Β′ τᾶς ἐρεύγονται μὲν ἀπλάτου πυρὸς ἀγνόταται
ἐκ μυχῶν παγαί· ποταμοὶ δ' ἀμέραισιν
μὲν προχέοντι ῥόον καπνοῦ
αἴθων'· ἀλλ' ἐν ὄρφναισιν πέτρας
φοίνισσα κυλινδομένα φλὸξ ἐς βαθεῖ-
αν φέρει πόντου πλάκα σὺν πατάγῳ.
κεῖνο δ' Ἀφαίστοιο κρουνοὺς ἑρπετόν
δεινοτάτους ἀναπέμπει· τέρας μὲν
θαυμάσιον προσιδέσθαι,
θαῦμα δὲ καὶ παρεόντων ἀκοῦσαι,

οἷον Αἴτνας ἐν μελαμφύλλοις δέδεται κορυφαῖς
καὶ πέδῳ, στρωμνὰ δὲ χαράσσοισ' ἅπαν νῶ-
τον ποτικεκλιμένον κεντεῖ.
εἴη, Ζεῦ, τὶν εἴη ἀνδάνειν,
ὃς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος, εὐκάρποιο γαί-
ας μέτωπον, τοῦ μὲν ἐπωνυμίαν
κλεινὸς οἰκιστὴρ ἐκύδανεν πόλιν
γείτονα, Πυθιάδος δ' ἐν δρόμῳ κά-
ρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν ἀγγέλ-
λων Ἱέρωνος ὑπὲρ καλλινίκου

ἅρμασι. ναυσιφορήτοις δ' ἀνδράσι πρώτα χάρις
ἐς πλόον ἀρχομένοις πομπαῖον ἐλθεῖν
οὖρον· ἐοικότα γάρ
καὶ τελευτᾷ φερτέρου νόστου τυχεῖν, ὁ δὲ λόγος
ταύταις ἐπὶ συντυχίαις δόξαν φέρει
λοιπὸν ἔσσεσθαι στεφάνοισί ν<ιν> ἵπποις τε κλυτάν
καὶ σὺν εὐφώνοις θαλίαις ὀνυμαστάν.
Λύκιε καὶ Δάλοι' ἀνάσσων
Φοῖβε Παρνασσοῦ τε κράναν Κασταλίαν φιλέων,
ἐθελήσαις ταῦτα νόῳ τιθέμεν εὔανδρόν τε χώραν.

Γ′ ἐκ θεῶν γὰρ μαχαναὶ πᾶσαι βροτέαις ἀρεταῖς,
καὶ σοφοὶ καὶ χερσὶ βιαταὶ περίγλωσ-

σοί τ' ἔφῦν. ἄνδρα δ' ἐγὼ κεῖνον
αἰνῆσαι μενοινῶν ἔλπομαι
μὴ χαλκοπάραον ἄκονθ' ὡσείτ' ἀγῶ-
νος βαλεῖν ἔξω παλάμᾳ δονέων,
μακρὰ δὲ ῥίψαις ἀμεύσασθ' ἀντίους.
εἰ γὰρ ὁ πᾶς χρόνος ὄλβον μὲν οὕτω
καὶ κτεάνων δόσιν εὐθύ-
νοι, καμάτων δ' ἐπίλασιν παράσχοι·

ἦ κεν ἀμνάσειεν, οἵαις ἐν πολέμοισι μάχαις
τλάμονι ψυχᾷ παρέμειν', ἀνίχ' εὑρί-
σκοντο θεῶν παλάμαις τιμάν
οἵαν οὔτις Ἑλλάνων δρέπει
πλούτου στεφάνωμ' ἀγέρωχον. νῦν γε μὰν
τὰν Φιλοκτήταο δίκαν ἐφέπων
ἐστρατεύθη· σὺν δ' ἀνάγκᾳ νιν φίλον
καί τις ἐὼν μεγαλάνωρ ἔσανεν.
φαντὶ δὲ Λαμνόθεν ἕλκει
τειρόμενον μεταβάσοντας ἐλθεῖν

ἥρωας ἀντιθέους Ποίαντος υἱὸν τοξόταν·
ὃς Πριάμοιο πόλιν πέρσεν, τελεύτα-
σέν τε πόνους Δαναοῖς,
ἀσθενεῖ μὲν χρωτὶ βαίνων, ἀλλὰ μοιρίδιον ἦν.
οὕτω δ' Ἱέρωνι θεὸς ὀρθωτὴρ πέλοι
τὸν προσέρποντα χρόνον, ὧν ἔραται καιρὸν διδούς.
Μοῖσα, καὶ πὰρ Δεινομένει κελαδῆσαι
πίθεό μοι ποινὰν τεθρίππων·
χάρμα δ' οὐκ ἀλλότριον νικαφορία πατέρος.
ἄγ' ἔπειτ' Αἴτνας βασιλεῖ φίλιον ἐξεύρωμεν ὕμνον·

Δ′ τῷ πόλιν κείναν θεοδμάτῳ σὺν ἐλευθερίᾳ
Ὑλλίδος στάθμας Ἱέρων ἐν νόμοις ἔ-
κτισσε· θέλοντι δὲ Παμφύλου
καὶ μὰν Ἡρακλειδᾶν ἔκγονοι
ὄχθαις ὕπο Ταϋγέτου ναίοντες αἰ-
εὶ μένειν τεθμοῖσιν ἐν Αἰγιμιοῦ
Δωριεῖς. ἔσχον δ' Ἀμύκλας ὄλβιοι
Πινδόθεν ὀρνύμενοι, λευκοπώλων
Τυνδαριδᾶν βαθύδοξοι
γείτονες, ὧν κλέος ἄνθησεν αἰχμᾶς.

Ζεῦ τέλει᾽, αἰεὶ δὲ τοιαύταν Ἀμένα παρ᾽ ὕδωρ
αἶσαν ἀστοῖς καὶ βασιλεῦσιν διακρί-
νειν ἔτυμον λόγον ἀνθρώπων.
σύν τοι τίν κεν ἀγητὴρ ἀνήρ,
υἱῷ τ᾽ ἐπιτελλόμενος, δᾶμον γεραί-
ρων τράποι σύμφωνον ἐς ἡσυχίαν.
λίσσομαι νεῦσον, Κρονίων, ἥμερον
ὄφρα κατ᾽ οἶκον ὁ Φοίνιξ ὁ Τυρσα-
νῶν τ᾽ ἀλαλατὸς ἔχῃ, ναυ-
σίστονον ὕβριν ἰδὼν τὰν πρὸ Κύμας,

οἷα Συρακοσίων ἀρχῷ δαμασθέντες πάθον,
ὠκυπόρων ἀπὸ ναῶν ὅ σφιν ἐν πόν-
τῳ βάλεθ᾽ ἁλικίαν,
Ἑλλάδ᾽ ἐξέλκων βαρείας δουλίας. ἀρέομαι
πὰρ μὲν Σαλαμῖνος Ἀθαναίων χάριν
μισθόν, ἐν Σπάρτᾳ δ᾽ <ἀπὸ> τᾶν πρὸ Κιθαιρῶ-
νος μαχᾶν,
ταῖσι Μήδειοι κάμον ἀγκυλότοξοι,
παρὰ δὲ τὰν εὔυδρον ἀκτὰν
Ἰμέρα παίδεσσιν ὕμνον Δεινομένεος τελέσαις,
τὸν ἐδέξαντ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ ἀρετᾷ, πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν καμόντων.

Ε′ καιρὸν εἰ φθέγξαιο, πολλῶν πείρατα συντανύσαις
ἐν βραχεῖ, μείων ἔπεται μῶμος ἀνθρώ-
πων· ἀπὸ γὰρ κόρος ἀμβλύνει
αἰανὴς ταχείας ἐλπίδας,
ἀστῶν δ᾽ ἀκοὰ κρύφιον θυμὸν βαρύ-
νει μάλιστ᾽ ἐσλοῖσιν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίοις.
ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως, κρέσσον γὰρ οἰκτιρμοῦ φθόνος,
μὴ παρίει καλά. νώμα δικαίῳ
πηδαλίῳ στρατόν· ἀψευ-
δεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλῶσσαν.

εἴ τι καὶ φλαῦρον παραιθύσσει, μέγα τοι φέρεται,
πὰρ σέθεν. πολλῶν ταμίας ἐσσί· πολλοὶ
μάρτυρες ἀμφοτέροις πιστοί.
εὐανθεῖ δ᾽ ἐν ὀργᾷ παρμένων,
εἴπερ τι φιλεῖς ἀκοὰν ἀδεῖαν αἰ-
εὶ κλύειν, μὴ κάμνε λίαν δαπάναις·
ἐξίει δ᾽ ὥσπερ κυβερνάτας ἀνήρ
ἱστίον ἀνεμόεν {πετάσαις}. μὴ δολωθῇς,

ὦ φίλε, κέρδεσιν ἐντραπέ-
λοις· ὀπιθόμβροτον αὔχημα δόξας

οἷον ἀποιχομένων ἀνδρῶν δίαιταν μανύει
καὶ λογίοις καὶ ἀοιδοῖς. οὐ φθίνει Κροί-
σου φιλόφρων ἀρετά.
τὸν δὲ ταύρῳ χαλκέῳ καυτῆρα νηλέα νόον
ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντᾷ φάτις,
οὐδέ νιν φόρμιγγες ὑπωρόφιαι κοινανίαν
μαλθακὰν παίδων ὀάροισι δέκονται.
τὸ δὲ παθεῖν εὖ πρῶτον ἀέθλων·
εὖ δ' ἀκούειν δευτέρα μοῖρ'· ἀμφοτέροισι δ' ἀνήρ
ὃς ἂν ἐγκύρσῃ καὶ ἕλῃ, στέφανον ὕψιστον δέδεκται.

A′ Golden lyre, possession and advocate of Apollo
and the Muses with their violet hair—the dance step
which begins the festivity hears you
and singers obey your signals
whenever you quiver and fashion the preludes
of the proems that begin the dance.[1]
You quench even the thunderbolt-spear
with its ever-flowing fire. On his sceptre
the eagle of Zeus sleeps
and relaxes his swift wings on both sides,

the lord of birds, and over his curved head
you pour a dark cloud, a sweet closure of his eyelids,
and he, slumbering,
ruffles his supple back,
constrained by the force of your music.
Indeed, even mighty Ares leaves to one side
his jagged spears and cheers his heart
in sleep; its shafts enchant even the minds of divinities
because of the skill of the son of Leto
and the deep-breasted Muses.

But those whom Zeus does not love are distraught
when they hear the shout of the Pierian Muses,
on earth and throughout the irresistible sea

[1]Cf. Aloni 1992: 113 on the distinction between preludes and proems here.

—like he who lies in dread Tartaros, the enemy of the gods,
Typhon with his hundred heads, whom once
the Cilician cave of many names nurtured. But now
the sea-girt cliffs above Kumai
and Sicily press down on his shaggy chest,
and a heavenly column constrains him,
snow-capped Aitna, the nurse of sharp snow all year round.

B′ From its recesses belch forth most holy streams
of unapproachable fire.
During the days rivers pour forth a blazing flow of smoke,
but in the darkness
a rolling blood-red flame carries rocks
with a crash into the deep expanse of the sea.
That animal sends up most dreadful springs of Hephaistos,
an amazing portent to gaze upon
and a wonder even to hear of from those who were present,

how he is bound on the black-leaved peaks of Aitna
and on the plain, and the jagged bed
pricks his entire back as he lies against it.
Grant, Zeus, grant that I may please you,
you who keep this mountain, the brow of a fruitful land,
which gives its name to the neighbouring city
whose famous founder glorified it
and at the Pythian racecourse the herald proclaimed it
when he made the announcement
on behalf of Hieron's beautiful victory

with the chariot. For seafaring men the first grace comes
when they begin their voyage with a favouring wind,
for it is likely
that in the end also they will meet with a
better homecoming.
The proverb, given this present good fortune,
creates the expectation that
for the rest of time the city will be renowned for crowns and
horses,
and famous for sweet-voiced festivities.
Lycian god, Phoibos, you who rule over Delos

and favour Kastalia, the spring of Parnassos,
be willing to take these predictions to heart
and make the land flourish with good men.

Γ′ The gods are the source of all contrivances that
lead to mortal excellence,
and men are born wise and mighty of hand
and skilled in speech.
I hope that, in my desire to praise that man
I do not whirl my bronze-cheeked javelin with my hand
outside the contest arena
but make a great throw and outstrip my opponents.
May all of time to come steer like this in a
straight course his prosperity and gift of possessions,
and grant him forgetfulness of his toils.

Then, in truth, it could remind him of the battles with
the enemy
he withstood with an enduring soul,
when, by the contrivances of the gods,
his family found for itself
the kind of honour that none of the Greeks reaps,
a lordly crown of wealth. Now, as it is,
he campaigned in the mode of Philoktetes,
and by necessity even someone haughty
fawned on him as a friend.
They say that worn down by his wound as he was
they came to bring him from Lemnos;

the godlike heroes brought the bowman son of Poias,
who sacked the city of Priam, and ended toils for
the Danaoi,
walking with strengthless flesh, but it was fated.
So may god be a restorer for Hieron
in time to come, and give him an opportunity
for what he desires.
Muse, listen to me and sing by the side of Deinomenes too
a recompense for the four-horse chariot:
a father's victory is no alien joy.
Come then, let us create a hymn of friendship for
Aitna's king,

Δ′ for whom Hieron founded that city with god-built freedom
in the laws of Hyllos' rule.
The descendents of Pamphylos
and the Herakleidai
who live under the cliffs of Taygetos wish always
to remain
Dorians in the ordinances of Aigimios.
The blessed ones set out from Pindos and
took Amyklai,
the deep-famed neighbours of the Tyndaridai
with their white horses—
the fame of their spear flourished.

Zeus accomplisher, decree such a fate
for kings and citizens by the waters of Amenas—
make it be always the accurate report of men.
With your help a man who is a leader,
commanding his son and honouring the people
could turn them towards harmonious peace.
I pray you, son of Kronos, grant that
the Phoenician and the Etruscan war cry remain
quietly at home, now that it has seen
the outrageous humiliation that brought
lamentation to their ships at Kumai,

the things they suffered when they were conquered
by the leader of the Syracusans,
who cast their young men into the sea
from their fast-moving ships,
dragging away from Greece the heavy
burden of slavery.
I shall win the Athenians' gratitude as
my wage from Salamis,
and gratitude in Sparta from the battles before Kithairon,
in which the Medes with their curved bows suffered,
and from the well-watered shore of Himera,
when I accomplish a hymn
for the children of Deinomenes,
which they received for their excellence
when their enemies suffered.

E′ If you should make a timely utterance, drawing together the issues
of many matters in a short space,
less blame from men follows,
for wearisome excess blunts swift hopes,
and what the citizens hear secretly weighs on their hearts
most of all on the occasion of another's successes.
Nevertheless, since jealousy is better than pity, (85)
do not neglect fine things. Direct the host
with the steering oar of justice.
Forge your tongue on the anvil of truth.

If even a trivial spark flies up, it is accounted great
when it comes from you. You are the steward of many.
Many trustworthy witnesses exist for both sorts of deeds.
Remain steadfast in the bloom of your character,
and if indeed you love always to hear a sweet report, (90)
do not grow too tired of your expenditures;
rather let out your sail to the wind like a steersman.
Do not be deceived, my friend, by shameful profit.
The boast of fame made by men to come

alone bears witness to the way of life of those who have died,
whether told by storytellers or bards.[2]
The kindly excellence of Kroisos does not perish,
but he who with pitiless mind burned people in the
brazen bull, (95)
Phalaris—a hateful report constrains him everywhere,
nor do the lyres of the household
admit him in gentle fellowship to the conversations of boys.
Being successful is the first of prizes.
Being well spoken of is the second portion, and a man
who meets with both and keeps them (100)
has received the highest crown.

Introduction

The years between the composition of *Olympian* 1 and *Pythian* 1 had been eventful ones for Hieron. We saw in Chapter 2 how his ambitions in the

[2] For the reading of the dative here as instrumental, see Cingano in Gentili et al. 1995: 361 and Athanassaki 2009: 259.

Tyrrhenian Sea brought him into conflict with the Etruscans at Kumai on the Tyrrhenian coast, where his ships fought and won a naval battle in 474. This victory made Syracuse and Hieron the dominant power in southern Italy and Sicily. In 472 he had again won the Olympic horse race. A prestigious chariot victory still eluded him, however. *Pythian* 1 celebrates the achievement of this goal with a chariot victory at Delphi in 470. It also appropriates important motifs of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, and like *Olympian* 1, it transforms its poetic inheritance of Hesiod, aligning the work of poet and king as servants of Zeus. The great sinner justly punished is now the monster Typhon, the enemy of Zeus, and the site of his punishment is Hieron's new foundation of Aitna. Heroic foundation and kingship ensure political harmony within the city and vanquish external enemies. This astonishing piece of work maps athletic, political, and mythological victories onto each other, celebrating a divinely authorized monarchy destined to combat the forces of chaos and barbarism. Nowhere is it clearer that athletic victory is a cipher for political mastery.

The ode opens with an invocation to the power of music and then focuses on its first mythological episode, the defeat of Typhon. This leads in turn to the foundation of Hieron's city on Aitna, for which Hieron's victory serves as a good omen. Praise of Hieron for his unprecedented achievements among the Greeks gives way to the comparison of him with Philoktetes, who, although wounded, was responsible for the Greeks' capture of Troy. Another reference to the chariot victory returns us to the city of Aitna and the Dorian constitution that will ensure its stability and peace. This mention of peace leads Pindar to express his hope that the Etruscans and Phoenicians (i.e., Carthaginians) have learned their lesson after their recent defeats, and to the comparison of Hieron's victory at Kumai with other Greek victories of the Persian Wars. The final triad returns us to the power of speech: the dangers of blame and the whispers of the jealous, the power of kingly discourse, and the persistence of royal reputations for good and evil down through the ages. The mythological material of the ode is thus divided into two sections. The first, Typhon and his imprisonment under Aitna, forms an extensive coda to the opening and a transition to the first victory announcement in lines 30–34, while the central triad presents Philoktetes as an analogue for Hieron. The close of the poem presents us with two historical paradigms of kingship, Kroisos and Phalaris, that are well on their way to becoming myth. Indeed, one of the most important aspects of the poem is a meditation on the process by which people and events (climactic battles against barbarians) become mythologized. The texture of the ode is thus dense and complex, punctuated by references to Aitna, battles, peace, and praise, and ringed by detailed consideration of the political influence of song.

The Triumph of Harmony

We begin with music as a sign for peace and the triumph of peacetime values (*P*. 1.1–14). The music of Olympos enchants and calms all who hear it, even the most violent and powerful, as long as they are in the favor of Zeus. Zeus' enemies, however, are appalled by the sound. The details of this idyll stress order, authority, and obedience. The lyre is the "advocate" of Apollo and the Muses; a *sundikos* is someone who speaks on behalf of someone else in a court of law.[3] From the start, then, the sound of the lyre is part of an orderly system of discourse and judgment. We may remember (and not for the first time) that in the *Theogony* both poets and kings employ authoritative discourse in the pursuit of justice. Kings come from Zeus, and poets from Apollo and the Muses, but it is the gifts of the Muses that enable the king to settle disputes. Here too, music metaphorically helps to create judgments, and it is the enemies of Zeus who will be found wanting. We are reminded also that the world of the Muses is one of orderly obedience. The dance step "hears" the lyre, and singers obey (are persuaded by) it. A festivity has certain rules, and in order for the celebration to be successful the participants must obey them: the music of the lyre precedes dancing and singing. To hear attentively is to be obedient to the protocols of the song.

What is perhaps surprising is that the power of music is not just coordinate with but superior to force and violence. Ares sleeps, and, even more notably, music "quenches" the thunderbolt and the eagle of Zeus sleeps on his scepter. Music, then, is a stream of water or perhaps a breath of wind that puts out the fire of divine lightning,[4] even though, paradoxically, the fire is "ever-flowing." The eagle is "constrained," held down by the force (or, more strongly, "blasts": *rhipaisi*) of the lyre. When its "shafts" enchant, it is like a poetic bow.[5] It is not unusual for Pindar to compare his poetry to a stream of water, a breath of wind, or an arrow,[6] but the objects affected,

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[3] Lefkowitz 1976: 106; Hooker 1977. Angeli Bernardini 1979a: 79–80 dismisses any allusion to advocacy in these lines, since, she objects, there is nothing legal about the *sophia* of Apollo and the Muses, which cannot be accused and does not need defenders. Although she is right to stress the harmonious reciprocity that exists between Apollo and the Muses (1979: 81–82) and is part of the resonance of *sundikos*, she underestimates the extent to which divine music is part of a system that results in definitive judgment. Creatures (like Typhon and even the gods) are characterized by their reaction to it.

[4] As Brillante 1992: 8 points out, the emphasis is on the activity provoked by music.

[5] Cf. further Angeli Bernardini 1979a: 82 on the reciprocity between bow and lyre; Brillante 1992: 9–10 on music as enchantment and a force of possession.

[6] Steiner 1986: 45, 73; Simpson 1969.

divine beings, seem chosen to emphasize the almost limitless nature of the lyre's power. It is a form of persuasion that has the force of a weapon, an enchantment that works on the gods.[7] The image of the eagle of Zeus slumbering on his scepter is doubly remarkable for its resonance with contemporary coinage and with eagle imagery elsewhere in Pindar. We saw in Chapter 2 that the earliest tetradrachm of Aitna, as well as a silver drachm of that city, show Zeus seated on his throne with a thunderbolt in his right hand and holding a scepter surmounted by an eagle in his left (Fig. 2.6). It seemed likely that this was a representation of the cult statue of Zeus for the new city.[8] The opening of the ode thus makes a gracious nod to the coinage and the cult statue. The thunderbolt, the scepter, and the eagle all feel the magical effects of song, and even more importantly, they, and the god who holds them, do so as the tutelary divinity of Aitna and his attributes. Zeus, of course, does not sleep but watches over the mountain (30); no wonder that Pindar shapes his song to please this instantiation of the god (29).

In Chapter 3, we explored how the eagle was an image of the power of Zeus, of the preeminence of the victor, and also of the poet.[9] This last was, I suggested, a transformation of the Hesiodic picture of the poet/nightingale in the grip of the kingly bird of prey. Now, however, in a culminating transformation, poetic might constrains the bird of prey. The weapon that is not a weapon outdoes weapons and warriors. Might not this confident expression of supremacy seem hubristic? It would, if it were not placed in its proper context, and this is what happens as the first antistrophe gives way to the first epode (line 13). Here, we learn that the enemies of Zeus are terrified by the cry of the Muses. The enchanting power of music, then, operates only on those in Zeus' favor, and thus it is an expression of the will and authority of Zeus. Orderly discourse and song form the summit of Zeus' cosmos.[10]

The transformation of music into a supreme instrument of order also serves to combine two aspects of the god Apollo: god of the lyre and god

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[7] Cf. Kollmann 1989: 71–71, 79–80.

[8] Holm 1870, v. 3: 579. Boehringer 1968: 81. Dougherty 1993: 86 (also Pfeijffer 2005: 19 n. 21) connects the poem with the silver tetradrachm of Aitna currently in the Coin Cabinet of the Royal Library in Brussels, but it seems likely that this coin should be dated after the death of Hieron. Note too that the eagle on the Brussels tetradrachm roosts on the top of a fir tree, as opposed to sitting on the scepter.

[9] On Pindar's Zeus here as sovereign (and forerunner of Pheidias' Olympian Zeus), see Brillante 1992: 13–14.

[10] Klingner 1935: 57 and passim notes how the presentation of music already heralds the theme of good government (*eunomia*) that will be central to the discussion of the constitutions of Sparta and Aitna at 61–71. For a suggestive discussion of a Bronze-Age connection between the lyre and city foundation, see Franklin 2006: 42. He notes, moreover, that the refoundation of Sicilian Kamarina (ca. 465) "used the order of strings on the lyre as a pattern for administrative divisions" (2006: 58).

of the bow. The opening of *Pythian* 1 recalls two proemial passages in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* where the god arrives on Olympos. In the first (1–9), the gods spring to their feet when Apollo enters their assembly and draws his bow. His mother Leto, however, unstrings his bow, closes his quiver, hangs the weapons on a peg, and conducts Apollo to his seat so that he may join the feast. Just as in *Pythian* 1, weapons are put aside in favor of relaxation and festivity. There is no mention as yet of the lyre; the god announces his attributes during the narrative of his birth: "may the lyre and the curved bow be dear to me" (131). The instruments of war and peace are now juxtaposed as two fundamental aspects of the divine character, but it is not until line 182 that we see the god playing his lyre. As he goes to his sanctuary in Pytho, he sings and the lyre gives forth a delightful sound under the plectrum. From there (186) he proceeds to Olympos, where immediately the gods take thought for the lyre and song. The Muses sing about the endless blessings of the gods and "the sufferings of men, the things they endure at the hands of the immortal gods, helpless and without sense, nor can they find a cure for death and defence against old age" (190–193). In this picture, divine festivity and song is enabled by the contrast between divine bliss and mortal misery. How different the emphasis in Pindar![11] Divine arms and divine music converge: weapons are laid aside for song, and song, instead of focusing on the complacent thrills gained by comparing divine power with mortal helplessness, expresses the cosmic purposes of Zeus, and is itself conceived as a weapon.

The content of Pindar's Olympian song is uncertain. Grace Ledbetter has suggested that "dwellers in the divine realm themselves respond to the *current* performance of Pindar's ode."[12] This reading implies large claims for the effectiveness of Pindar's song, since in this case it is *Pythian* 1 itself that quenches the fire of the thunderbolt, puts Ares and Zeus' eagle to sleep, and perhaps causes distress to Typhon. My interpretation posits a paradigmatic Olympian celebration whose effects are echoed and replicated in the mortal world. The scene on Olympos has been constructed to allow it to resonate with the performance of Pindar's song in Sicily and with any subsequent performance.[13] Attempts to identify the "singers"

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[11] As Krischer 1985: 493 notes, the epinician brings gods and men closer together; thus an evocation of the miseries of men would be inappropriate.

[12] Ledbetter 2003: 75.

[13] Morrison 2007: 62, 89 notes the generalizing implications of "whenever" at line 4 and makes the fruitful observation that this kind of generality accommodates both the initial performance and any subsequent reperformance of the ode. Cf. Athanassaki 2009: 248–249 on "pseudo-iterative" narrative here.

of line 3 precisely with the Muses push the evidence farther than it will go.[14] As Michael Simpson remarks, the opening presents "an apotheosized version of a real court, one such as Hieron's. Or, to put it the other way around, one might say that such a court as Hieron's has been raised to an ideal plane."[15] Both performances celebrate the victory of Zeus' divine order. In comparison with the *Hymn to Apollo*, divine and mortal song have moved closer together.

Nor should we forget that the patron and origin of mortal song, Apollo, had his own monster-slaying history celebrated in the Homeric hymn. Apollo takes possession of and institutes his sanctuary at Delphi/Pytho by slaying the local she-dragon, Python, from whom the site would take a name and the god an epithet. This serpentine monster, moreover, is identified in the hymn as the foster mother of Typhaon (generated by Hera in anger at Zeus). Both Typhaon and Python are a "bane" to mortals" (304, 306), and when Apollo kills Python, he declares "Typhoeus will not ward off a painful death from you" (367–368). The destruction of Python is thus the condition for the cult of Apollo and the very festival at which Hieron has won his victory. The next portion of *Pythian* 1 will present the defeat of Typhon as the shaping force in the creation of Sicilian topography and a site for Hieron's colony of Aitna. The defeat of both monsters removes a baneful force from mortal life and creates Olympian order, as well as making Hieron's achievements (which are an expression of that order) possible. If we suppose that Pindar is reacting to the mythological elements articulated in the *Hymn to Apollo*, we can see how Pindar's ode refashions them to a greater purpose. We have a new kind of song, both human and divine, that is continuous with but moves beyond the achievements of war and conflict, a song that is itself a weapon and achieves the same Olympian purpose of order and control over chaos, as well as parallel monster slayings that both model and make possible Hieron's own victories.

Typhon and the West

Like the other odes for Hieron, *Pythian* 1 features someone who rebels against the power of the gods. Unlike *Olympian* 1 and *Pythians* 2–3, however, this figure is not a mortal such as Ixion, Tantalos, Koronis, or Asklepios. Instead it is a primeval monster, Typhon, who threatens to upset

[14] Kollmann 1989: 54–55.

[15] Simpson 1969: 455. Cf. Klingner 1935: 55 on the identity of heavenly and earthly music ("Beides ist für Pindar im Grunde eines") and Athanassaki 2009: 246–248.

the order of things. This marks something of a change and simplification of focus. In the odes previously considered, the "sinner" was a mortal who had enjoyed great divine favor and failed to respect the boundaries that separated the mortal from the divine. They could thus serve as a warning of the perils inherent in a position of superiority and model the dangers of the tyrannical estate. Typhon is similar to Ixion and Tantalos in being the object of eternal punishment, but he was never mortal and never enjoyed a position of favor. He was created to rebel and challenge cosmic order. Although the end of the ode will again remind Hieron of a negative exemplar of tyrannical power (Phalaris) and exhort him to continue to walk the path of justice, the vision of good and bad in the body of the ode is fairly simple, with none of the complexities of error and fall we find in the other poems. The forces of darkness are distanced from the tyrant. Typhon, the Phoenicians, and the Etruscans will all line up as the enemy opposed by Zeus and his earthly regent Hieron. They are all easily identifiable as aspects of the notorious *other:* beast and barbarian. The straightforward alignment of positive and negative forces makes *Pythian* 1 the most triumphal of the Hieron odes.

The hundred-headed monster Typhon is introduced as one of those who are rendered distraught by music. For the wicked, the cry of the Muses is not music, but a shout, a war cry (*boa*), and thus once again a weapon. Pindar plays here on the semantic range of *boa*, which can refer to the noise of flutes and lyres, the shout of a herald, the roar of a crowd, or a cry of attack. In Homer, as Carlo Brillante aptly notes, it is used of battle cries.[16] Pindar's presentation of Typhon is brief and allusive (he is "the enemy of the gods," 15). The audience must supply the details, that fire-breathing Typhon rebelled against the rule of Zeus but was defeated in an epic battle that almost tore the earth to pieces. In some versions of the story, Typhon was briefly successful, but there is no trace of this in Pindar, or indeed in Hesiod, who was probably Pindar's most immediate influence. At *Theogony* 820–880 we learn that Typhoeus is the child of earth and Tartaros, that at the battle of Zeus and the monster the sea and earth are burned though thunder and lightning from Zeus, and fire from the monster. The combat of the adversaries threatens to return the world to a state of primitive confusion. Solids turn to liquid, and liquid to gas:

[16] The noise of flutes and lyres: *O*. 3.8, *P*. 10.39; herald's shout: *O*. 13.100; crowd's roar: *O*. 9.93; battle cry: *O*. 7.37, *O*. 8.40; Brillante 1992: 11.

. . . πολλὴ δὲ πελώρη καίετο γαῖα
αὐτμῇ θεσπεσίῃ, καὶ ἐτήκετο κασσίτερος ὡς
τέχνῃ ὑπ᾽ αἰζηῶν ἐν εὐτρήτοις χοάνοισι
θαλφθείς, ἠὲ σίδηρος, ὅ περ κρατερώτατός ἐστιν,
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃσι δαμαζόμενος πυρὶ κηλέῳ
τήκεται ἐν χθονὶ δίῃ ὑφ᾽ Ἡφαίστου παλάμῃσιν·
ὣς ἄρα τήκετο γαῖα σέλαι πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο.

The vast earth was badly burnt with the awful blast,
and was melted like tin, softened by the skill of vigorous men
in well-pierced melting pots—or like iron, which is the strongest of all,
subdued in mountain glens by burning fire,
is melted in the divine earth by the art of Hephaistos,
so was the earth melting, in the blaze of the burning fire.

(*Theog*. 861–867)

Finally, Zeus cast the monster into Tartaros. The location of Hesiod's battle narrative is generalized—we hear of the land and sea in general, the trembling of the earth and even Olympos. He does not specify the location of the final battle, although in Homer it is located among the Arimoi (*Il*. 2.780–785).[17] The account of the monster is ringed by mentions of Tartaros, who was both Typhoeus' father and his ultimate prison. Of Tartaros we know that it lies at the roots of the earth and ocean, and that it would take an anvil dropped from earth nine days to reach it (*Theog*. 720–723). It is exceedingly remote.

When we compare Hesiod's account to that of Pindar, we can appreciate the skill with which Pindar reworks this material. The ode had opened with a generalized scene of celebration on Olympos. The mention of those whom "Zeus does not love" brought the presentation down to earth, as we moved from Olympos to the distress of the wicked at music "on land and on the irresistible sea," and the account of Typhon starts where Hesiod leaves off: "he who lies in dread Tartaros."[18] The narrative movement of the poem thus mimics the battle between Zeus and Typhoeus, moving from Olympos to the bottom of creation as Typhoeus is cast into Tartaros. Pindar added a layer of resonance by highlighting the power of music and its place in Zeus' order. This music also quenches the lightning of the thunderbolt—precisely the weapon

[17] The location of Homer's Arimoi, among whom Typhon was defeated, was a subject of contention in antiquity, although many scholars placed them in Cilicia (Strabo 13.4.6). Pindar himself had located the battle between Zeus and Typhon among the Arimoi (fr. 93).
[18] Kollmann 1989: 98.

that the Hesiodic Zeus had used to conquer the monster. The reaction of the monster to his imprisonment, helpless distress that results in the production of rivers of fire, recreates the conflagration that marked his battle and defeat. In the world of the poem, moreover, there may be an implication that the music of the lyre makes an important contribution to his distress. We have been told, after all, that Zeus' enemies are distraught at the sound of the lyre. Typhon's defeat is narrated to the accompaniment of the instrument that trumps all on heaven, on earth, and in the underworld, though always in the service of Zeus. The song tells of and contributes to his punishment.

It is easy to see why Pindar would have found Hesiod an attractive source text. Hesiod's account of the melting of iron in mountain glens by the arts of Hephaistos could easily be (mis)read as an account of volcanic activity and could thus suggest the eruption of Aitna that Pindar narrates in the following lines. The defeat of Typhoeus in Hesiod is, moreover, the last of the challenges to Zeus' rule. Following this the gods urge Zeus to rule them (βασιλευέμεν ἠδὲ ἀνάσσειν, 883), and he assigns to them their honors and privileges (ἐὺ διεδάσσατο τιμάς, 885). In *Pythian* 1, similarly, the establishment of Hieron's new city of Aitna, presided over by Zeus Aitnaios, is followed by the installation of a king there and the implementation of a new constitution. The triumph of Zeus over Typhon is a triumph over chaos and marks the establishment of Zeus' order.[19] So too Hieron's foundation of Aitna is a new instantiation of divine order.[20]

At line 16 we move from the eternal present—what happens with song on Olympus, the location of Typhon—to a world of specific time and space. After the broad mythscapes of Olympos and Tartaros, we come to Cilicia, Kumai, Sicily, and most specifically the mountain of Aitna. Typhon was nurtured "once" in the Cilician cave and "now" is imprisoned by Kumai and Sicily. Cilicia does not play a large role in Greek literature prior to Pindar—it was Andromache's homeland in the *Iliad*, seems to have been associated traditionally with Typhon, and was thus one candidate for the location of Homer's Arimoi.[21] It reentered the Greek consciousness at the time of the Persian Wars as one of Xerxes' dominions and appears in Aeschylus' *Persai* as the homeland of one of the dead Persian captains. Typhon's land of origin is usefully overdetermined, both traditional and

[19] Trumpf 1958; Dougherty 1993: 94.
[20] Kirsten 1941: 60; Harrell 2002: 444–447; Pfeijffer 2005: 16–20, 38.
[21] West 1966: 250–251, 379–380; Kollmann 1989: 106.

associated with the recently threatening east.[22] Yet the focus of the ode is moving (temporally and geographically) from east to west. As Strabo comments, quoting *Pythian* 1, "Pindar associates the region of Pithekoussai, which lies before the land of Kumai, and the region of Sicily with the region of Cilicia" (13.4.6). The cliffs of Kumai and Sicily press the monster down, but it is Aitna, conceived as a "heavenly column," that is the chief instrument of torture for Typhon, almost as if it is a stake for impalement or an analogue for the post to which a condemned criminal would be chained in the grisly Greek method of execution, the *apotympanismos*. Aitna, Sicily in general, and the polis of Kumai on the Bay of Naples are all the sites of present constraint, and Pindar may well have been the first to locate Typhon in the Greek west and at these two locations.[23] How are they connected?

At the most basic level, they are all locations in the Greek west and thus appropriate in an ode for a Sicilian victor. They all, moreover, share in the particular geology and geography of the region. The area from the Bay of Naples down to eastern Sicily is volcanic. Strabo (5.4.9) reported that the entire area was full of fire, and that Sicily was hollow, filled with rivers and fire (6.2.9). Kumai and Sicily, in this tradition, are linked by underground channels. A layer of religious resonance may also enrich this geography. Peter Kingsley has argued that there was already in the fifth century a developed Pythagorean tradition concerning western geography. Volcanoes were seen as entrances to the underworld and played an important part in a Pythagorean eschatology of afterlife punishment, expiation, and reincarnation.[24] It is, of course, notoriously difficult to pinpoint the development of details in the Pythagorean tradition. Even if, as Kingsley argues, a Pythagorean tradition of lakes of boiling mud, rivers of fire, and descents into the underworld through volcanoes was an important source for the eschatological myth of Plato's *Phaedo*, it is uncertain how developed this tradition was earlier in Pindar's time.[25] Yet it is clear from the fragments of Pindar himself that there was a developed mystery tradition

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[22] Interestingly, the passage from the *Iliad* on the fall of Typhon among the Arimoi is used to describe the advance of the Greek host against the Trojans, when the Greek army marched like a "consuming fire," and the earth groaned, as it groans when Zeus is angry and lashes the earth where Typhon lies. The association of the defeat of Typhon with a Greek advance against barbarian enemies may been suggestive for Pindar. It is impossible to determine whether he had the Iliadic passage in mind, but since he will later identify Hieron's contribution to the Greek effort against the barbarians with the contribution of Philoktetes to the Trojan War effort, the connection is a plausible one.

[23] Gentili in Gentili et al 1995: 14; Bonanno 2010: 159.

[24] Connection of Aitna with Tartaros and the underworld: Kingsley 1995: 82. Dating of the Orphic *Krater* to the last third of the fifth century: 149–160.

[25] Kingsley 1995: 88–111.

in Sicily, and we have seen that the Deinomenids were intimately involved with the cult of the goddess Demeter (Chapter 2). One of the overarching arguments of this book is that Pindar participates in a wider reimagination of the mythology of kingship, and the afterlife fate of the criminally hybristic and impure is part of this reimagination. We do not need the support of a "developed" Pythagorean tradition or mythological geography to speculate that there was a western belief, based on local geography, that volcanoes such as Aitna and locations at Kumai were entrances to the underworld, nor that enemies of Zeus and sinners such as Typhon were punished beneath the earth—a belief supported by the authority of Homer and Hesiod. If, however, there was a local eschatological tradition that sages (such as Empedocles a few years later) and initiates descended to the underworld by local topographical features, there to be rewarded or punished, then Pindar's presentation of Typhon would play into their beliefs and appropriate them for the effects of his song.

For Kingsley, Pindar's location of Typhon is a simple matter of catering to local topographical tradition: "by placing his giant simultaneously in Tartarus and under Etna he was simply giving expression to the common and fundamental idea that the volcano, with its craters and caverns, is an opening into the underworld."[26] Kingsley underestimates Pindar's poetic subtlety. First, the location of Typhon brings the message home to the geographic surroundings of the victor. It also continues the project of the first part of the ode to bring the general and eternal down into the realm of the specific. An account that started with the monster lying Hesiodically in remote Tartaros now has him much closer to the surface, where he can and does affect everyday life. Even more crucially, the religious and mythological geography of Typhon is mapped onto the political achievements of Hieron's reign. The cliffs above Kumai had witnessed Hieron's naval victory over the Etruscans four years previously at the Battle of Kumai. Sicily was, mostly, within the Deinomenid sphere of influence, and Aitna was the site of Hieron's new city. Aitna and Kumai are connected underground geologically by rivers of fire; mythologically and aetiologically by Typhon (who causes the volcano to erupt); religiously by possible narratives of sin, atonement, and immortality; and politically by Hieron's achievements. As yet there is no mention of colony or battle in the poem, but the political subtext is clear: The force from the threatening east is pinned down by the site of Hieron's naval battle against the Etruscans, by the island that is Hieron's home, and by the mountain that is the site of Hieron's newest venture.

[26] Kingsley 1995: 73.

Why does Pindar call the mountain a "heavenly column" (19)? A column is stable and plays a defined role in a greater order. Pindar's Aitna exerts both an upward and a downward pressure. It reaches heavenward and has heavenly aspirations (just as the foundation of Hieron's city on the mountain expresses his aspirations toward heroic cult), but it also constrains the monster. The Greeks could conceive of the punishment of Atlas (the Titan and a mountain in north Africa) in terms of columns also, as in *Prometheus Bound* 348–350, where Prometheus says that he (Atlas) stands pressing with his shoulders the column of heaven and earth. The punishment of the rebel is a prime contributor to cosmic order, not just conceptually but geographically. Geographic stability, too, is a prerequisite for the birth of Olympian order. In fragment 33d, four columns rise from the sea floor to stabilize the wandering island of Delos when Leto is about to give birth to her children there.[27] The columns of Heracles, what we call his pillars, mark the safe boundary of human aspiration, both nautical and metaphorical, at *Nemean* 3.20–23.[28] We know, moreover, from the opening of *Olympian* 6 (written for a member of Hieron's court) that the same imagery could be applied to the poems themselves, for there Pindar exhorts himself to build his poem as if it were a wondrous *megaron*, setting columns of gold on the threshold. Like *Pythian* 1, *Olympian* 6 expresses and participates in the same principles of order that characterize the wider universe. The construction of that universe reflects the rule of Zeus. The architectural metaphor that is applied to the song itself in *Olympian* 6 is applied in *Pythian* 1 to the mountain that connects the realm of victory and heavenly song with that of the defeated opponent of order, but in both the resulting picture is one of exemplary stability.

The verb used to express this constraint, *sunechei*, recalls that which described the eagle held down (*kataschomenos*, 10) by the force of the lyre. The bird of Zeus is dominated by the lyre (in the service of Zeus and now in the service of Hieron), while the enemy of Zeus is held down by the mountain of Zeus (and of Hieron). This ordered quietude is encapsulated in the phrase that ends the first triad: Aitna is the yearlong nurse of sharp snow. The serenity of the image belies its oddness. We are familiar with envisioning the earth as female, the land as nurse of men, of flocks. Being a nurse of snow evokes coolness and even sterility; for achievement we need movement and change, and this is what happens as the second triad opens with the eruption of the mountain.

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[27] Another island, Aegina (*O.* 8.27), is a "divine pillar" for strangers because of its piety and fair dealing.

[28] At *O.* 3.44 these columns are described as *stalai*, monuments.

Aitna did, in fact, erupt during Hieron's reign. The scholia tell us that the eruption was destructive and it may have been this event that spurred Hieron to realize his hopes of city foundation on the site of Katane (see Chapter 2). The recent eruption emphatically focuses the poem on the events of the last decade, even while setting those events in the context of cosmic struggles. Although the eruption is described as if it were in progress, Aitna is only intermittently active. This presentation makes the fire of Typhon, seemingly continuous but in fact mostly quiescent, an inversion of the fire of the thunderbolt at the opening of the poem, ever-flowing but intermittently tamed by the lyre. The sanctuary of Adranos/Hephaistos on Aitna had an eternal fire that was never extinguished and never died down (πῦρ ἄσβεστόν τε καὶ ἀκοίμητον).[29] The mountain thus had a close connection with the concept of ever-flowing and unquenchable fire, a connection that expresses itself in the descriptions of the thunderbolt and eruptions. I noted above that even though the monster lies in Tartaros his torments still affect Hieron's landscape. Pindar transformed Hesiodic material of the confounding of the elements during the battle of Zeus and Typhon into his own vision of the battle of the elements during the eruption: springs of fire, rivers of blazing smoke, a flame rolling rocks into the sea. But the ubiquitous fire that characterized past struggle is now transferred to the present, to an iterative presentation of eruption: *now* Aitna constrains him, from which belch forth springs of fire. Through the eruption, the past is made present, replaying the primal defeat of the monster. Through the eruption, we are reminded of the victory of Zeus, but reminded that the monster is still alive, still struggling. Typhonic forces have affected Hieron's reign in two separate ways. The eruption of the volcano has threatened settlement in the area and affected the landscape, and the forces of eastern barbarity have attacked Hieron's forces at Kumai (and previously of course, those of his brother at Himera). Hieron has answers to both: victory at Kumai and city foundation in Sicily, but Pindar does not make this point until he reinforces the power of Zeus and his connection with the mountain. Once the defeat of Typhon has been rehearsed, the mountain can be reconceived.

Victory as Omen

The remainder of the second triad takes us from Aitna the mountain to Aitna the city and Hieron as oikist. Several commentators have noted that

[29] Aelian *De Nat. Anim.* 11.3; Malten 1913: 326.

although Hieron's chariot victory occasions the composition of the ode, the rhetorical emphasis within the poem is not so much on the victory as on the foundation of Aitna.[30] In this section I shall consider how the victory and the foundation are related to each other, emphasizing the role of the chariot win as an omen for the future success of the city. The victory is of course significant in its own right, but it also (and perhaps more importantly) serves as a sign for future victory and success. The symbolic nature of panhellenic athletic triumph is explicit here and is closely tied to Hieron as ruler and founder. This explicitness brings to the surface what is usually only implicit in the other Hieron odes: that his achievement at the games stands for a more universal cultural and military triumph.

Aitna as source of disruption gives way to Aitna as source of fruitfulness through a prayer to please Zeus in line 29 (which ends the ring started by the reference to "those whom Zeus does not like" in line 13). Predictably, given his victory over Typhon, Zeus rules over Mt. Aitna, which is now described as the "brow of a fruitful earth" (30). Instead of the frightening juxtaposition of snow and violent eruption, the emphasis is now on fertility as we move down from the summit toward habitable land. The land's very fertility is a result of its volcanic nature, and once again we see how the defeat of the monster has worked for the greater good. If one pleases Zeus, the result is fertility and city foundation. Zeus not only presides over the mountain, but Zeus Aitnaios was the patron god of the new city of Aitna. Coins of the city show Zeus of Aitna, on his throne, with scepter, eagle, and a winged thunderbolt (or a wheel).[31] Most resonant in the context of *Pythian* 1 is the tetradrachm (discussed above) that presents Zeus enthroned holding in his left hand a scepter with an eagle on it and dating to 475–470. Zeus's eagle and scepter in the opening lines are, as we have seen, already a picture of a local Zeus.[32]

The reference to the fruitfulness of the land introduces the topic of colony foundation, for we learn in the following lines that Hieron, as "famous founder," glorified the city by having himself announced, according to Pindar at least, as an inhabitant of Aitna when he won his chariot victory at Delphi. Such a treatment was not a forgone conclusion. Bacchylides' short ode 4, composed to celebrate the same victory, makes no mention of Aitna

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[30] Wilamowitz 1922: 296 (the most categorical: "Das Gedicht ist in Wahrheit nicht für eine Feier des pythischen Wagensieges bestimmt"); Burton 1962: 99; Pfeijffer 2005: 35.

[31] Boehringer 1968: 76–79. Brillante 1992: 14 connects this coin with Hieron's dedication at Olympia of booty from his victory over the Carthaginians.

[32] See further Dougherty 1993: 94–97 on how the poem appropriates local features into Greek colonial narrative.

at all and concludes that the victory means Apollo still loves the city of Syracuse (1–2). The representation of the victory could therefore depend on the purpose and context of the ode. When the accent is on Aitna, as in *Pythian* 1, the victory is a glorious omen for the city's future success: it raises the expectation that Aitna will be renowned for crowns, horses, and musical festivities (30–38).

These musical festivities probably included the *hyporchema* represented by fragments 105a and b. This song enjoyed enough popularity that it could be the object of extensive parody in Aristophanes' *Birds*. In the play, the founder of Cloudcuckooland is visited by a poet who pesters him for gifts (in the end, a jerkin and a tunic) in return for poetry praising the new city. At 926–927 he addresses Peisetairos: "But you, father, founder of Aitna, you who are named for holy rites" (σὺ δὲ πάτερ, κτίστορ Αἴτνας, ζαθέων ἱερῶν ὁμώνυμε). The scholiast on these lines identifies them as coming from a *hyporchema* of Pindar and quotes the first three lines of the poem:

> Σύνες ὅ τοι λέγω,
> ζαθέων ἱερῶν ἐπώνυμε
> πάτερ, κτίστορ Αἴτνας
>
> Understand what I say to you,[33]
> you who are named for holy rites,
> father, founder of Aitna

At 941–942 the traveling poet again alludes to Pindar, parodying the lines that we call Pindar fr. 105b:

> νομάδεσσι γὰρ ἐν Σκύθαις ἀλᾶται στρατῶν
> ὃς ἀμαξοφόρητον οἶκον οὐ πέπαται·
> ἀκλεὴς ⟨δ'⟩ ἔβα
>
> for among the nomadic Scythians
> a man who does not possess a house borne on a wagon[34]
> is banished from the host and goes without fame

This passage is important both as a source for the *hyporchema* and as a hostile reading of Pindar (presenting a picture of the praise poet as a

[33] This line also is quoted parodically at *Birds* 946.
[34] Aristophanes' parody says instead "a woven garment" (ὑφαντοδόνητον ἔσθος).

gift-grubbing parasite and undermining his "high-minded conceit that his praise is non-mercenary *kharis*, and his status as wandering poet really that of a guest-friend, a *xeinos*"[35]). For present purposes we note the force of the opening lines of the poem with their direct address to Hieron as father and founder, reinforced by the pun on his name when the poet declares that Hieron is "named for holy (*hierōn*) rites." The salutation has a hieratic solemnity. For a Sicilian audience, at least, it would have called to mind Hieron's hereditary priesthood of Demeter and Persephone. The foundation of Aitna thus acquires a religious glow from Hieron as a priestly founder figure, and his aura is further reinforced when the poet calls him "father." Pindar does not habitually use this term of mortals except when he talks of someone's actual father (although he regularly addresses Zeus as father). At *Pythian* 3.71 Pindar declares that Hieron is "a marvelous father for strangers/guests" (ξείνοις . . . θαυμαστὸς πατήρ), again endowing him with a patriarchal sheen. As father, as priest, as founder Hieron is a source of authority; indeed, one of the things the *hyporchema* presents to us is the founder *as* father.[36] When read together with *Pythian* 1, fr. 105 helps us reconstruct the full scope of Pindar's characterization of Hieron; behind the mortal father and his authority stands the authority of the divine father. Hieron is so fully characterized as priest, father, and founder that his name does not even need to be mentioned (at least in the part of the poem that is preserved), only evoked.

It is difficult to know how to interpret the lines of the *hyporchema* dealing with the Scythians. On the one hand, we might connect the reference to the house borne on a wagon to Sicily's international fame in the area of ornate carriages (fr. 106.6–7); the lines could then perhaps be interpreted as a request for a gift along those lines. This is certainly the way the lines are interpreted in Aristophanes.[37] There is another possibility, however. The mention of nomadic Scythians, houses, and fame makes one wonder whether these verses should be read as a commentary on migration. We saw in Chapter 2 how enforced migration and city refoundation were something of a specialty for Sicilian tyrants of the late sixth and early fifth centuries, and how Alcibiades (as represented in Thucydides) could remark on the mobility and weakness of Sicilian populations. If the

[35] Martin 2009 (quote at 104).
[36] Cf. Fowler 2000: 226, "Power is always with the father, and in particular the speech of the father. . . . The words of the father, moreover, bring order and peace through this authority: meaning is settled, disputes are resolved, the forces of disorder and anarchy are kept in check."
[37] Martin 2009: 95.

hyporchema was focused on foundation, as its opening lines suggest, the nomadic Scythians might have figured as a kind of foil to the stability and permanence hoped for in the case of Hieron's Aitna. The necessity of a home is somehow connected to the generation of *kleos*, fame, and this too reminds us of Pindar's prediction in *Pythian* 1 that the city will be "famous" (*klutan*) and his reference to the "famous founder" (κλεινὸς οἰκιστὴρ).[38] In both poems, Pindar seems to be interested in eponyms: In fr. 105a Hieron is named for (*epōnume*) holy rites, while in *Pythian* 1 the city is named for the mountain (*epōnumian*). Without more of the *hyporchema* we cannot tell how these connections might have played out, but the strong link between the city of Aitna and Hieron's role as founding father makes it a perfect companion piece for the epinician.

Returning to *Pythian* 1, we must note that it is not unusual for Pindar to represent the athletic victory of an individual as an ornament to his city. The victory of another Sicilian, Psaumis of Kamarina, is said to rouse up glory (*kudos*) for his city (*O*. 4.11–12), and Pindar often claims that by praising the victor he is praising the city (e.g., *P*. 9.1–4; *N*. 5. 7–8). Leslie Kurke has argued persuasively that such motifs are best read as part of a "rhetoric of *megaloprepeia*" wherein victory is a common benefaction bestowed on the city, and the victor's crowns are linked with the magical and talismanic force of *kudos*.[39] Because, she suggests, the lavish expenditure needed for athletic victory could generate envy among fellow citizens, and suspicions of tyrannical aspirations (especially in the case of hippic victory), Pindar defuses these tensions by including the citizens and city in the victory and the poem.[40] Thus, for example, *Isthmian* 7 "recalls the mythic highlights of Thebes in order to imply that Strepsiades' victory is merely the most recent of the city's 'local glories'," while *Isthmian* 5 exemplifies a "movement through myth to communal praise."[41] Another method of merging individual and polis was foundation myths, which view the polis as a single family.[42] This illuminating analysis draws together many common threads in Pindar's epinician corpus, threads that clearly converge in the passage of *Pythian* 1 we are considering. Hieron's victory is presented as a benefit for the city of

[38] Dougherty 1993: 97–98 plausibly suggests that the point of comparing Hieron and the Scythians is to contrast the oikist cult that Hieron will receive at the heart of his new city with the lack of any one place as a political focus in the case of the Scythians.
[39] Kurke 1991: 170, 203–205.
[40] Kurke 1991: 196–197.
[41] Kurke 1991: 198–199.
[42] Kurke 1991: 200.

Aitna, and Pindar deploys the rhetoric of foundation (itself rooted in the myth of Zeus' victory over Typhon) to link citizens and victor. Yet the way these motifs are combined is unique to this ode and specific to the identity of the victor. In *Pythian* 1 foundation is almost contemporary and is the culmination of a lengthy mythological past. Rather than recall the achievements of the founder and his community, the victor *is* the founder, and his victory is foundational for the city's future achievements (the strategy of *Isthmian* 7 in reverse).[43] Because the victor is the founder, his successes trump any others in the polis (even if they existed at this early stage in the city's existence). Community praise is, unusually, subordinated to victor praise as once again the motifs of epinician are animated by particular circumstance and fitted to tyrant praise.[44]

The second triad ends with a prayer to Apollo that invokes the god in a series of epithets that again move from east to west: Lycian, Delian, lover of Kastalia on Parnassos. This prayer ends the two grand geographic sweeps of the first part of the ode, one vertical and one horizontal (but both ending at Aitna). The vertical sweep moves from Olympos to earth to Tartaros before returning to the surface and concentrating on the mountain. The horizontal movement takes Typhon from Cilicia to Aitna and Apollo from Lycia to Aitna. The god's epithets here also resume the sequence of lines 179–181 of the *Hymn to Apollo*, which name Apollo as lord of Lycia, Maionia, Miletus, and Delos while recounting his travel to Delphi and thence to Olympos. Pindar, understandably, omits the Ionian locales of Miletus and Maionia and extends the god's sway further westward to Sicily and Aitna, where the god is entreated to look favorably on the new city. He is to "take these predictions [these things] to heart and make the land flourish with good men" (40). The god who has given Hieron the chariot victory at his sanctuary has, in effect, made a prediction by so doing. The victory is an omen given by the god of prophecy and the god who, for the Greeks, was the primary impetus for colonial foundations. Our sources do not record whether Hieron consulted the god when he was founding his colony of Aitna, displacing the inhabitants of Katane and installing others. It is unlikely that he did so. Yet the rhetoric of the poem appropriates the authority of the Delphic god for the new foundation: the chariot victory is equivalent to divine blessing on the enterprise and it also intimates future success. If the god pays attention to the symbolism of his actions (takes these things to heart) he will make

[43] Dougherty 1993: 97 argues that the language here *substitutes* the act of foundation for athletic victory. I would rather stress how the two are coordinated: the victory glorifies the city and acts as omen for a successful civic future. Both victory and foundation are achieved by Hieron.
[44] So too Mann 2001: 257–260.

the land "flourish with good men." Apollo of Delphi, as we learn from the *Hymn to Apollo*, is no stranger to enforced population migration such as that practiced by the Deinomenids. The Cretans whom he brings to his sanctuary to serve him had no wish to come, and the god calls them "Strangers who once dwelt about wooded Knossos but now shall return no more each to his lovely city and fair house and dear wife" (475–478). Hieron, like Apollo, means his new inhabitants no harm and has a great future planned for them as long as they keep his commands.

"The kind of honor that none of the Greeks reaps"

The central third triad concentrates on the praise of Hieron and reinforces the harmonious continuity between past and future that has previously been expressed in the parallelism between the defeat of Typhon and the founding of Aitna, the victory at Delphi and the future of Aitna. We begin with an acknowledgment that wisdom, might, and eloquence depend on divine grace—a gnome that both looks backward to the prayer for Aitna's happy future and forward to the poet's hope that the javelin cast of his poetry will accurately represent Hieron's achievements (41–45). Chariot victory and city foundation, mediated through the force of Pindar's song, have already explicitly put Typhon in his place, but one element is missing: military triumph. We might have expected this to be mentioned in the prior prayer for a successful civic future, but although it has been forecast in the details of Typhon's imprisonment Pindar has delayed his treatment of Hieron's military record until he can expand on it in the middle of the ode and work it out through the epinician motif of forgetfulness of toils.

He starts this process with another prayer. Time is envisioned as a steersman, and if, by divine favor, his course remains straight, Hieron's prosperity will continue (46). Another element is now added to the mix: the Deinomenid victory over the Carthaginians at Himera in 480, and Hieron's over the Etruscans at Kumai in 474, battles that Hieron endured bravely (47–48) as the Deinomenids found for themselves "the kind of honour that none of the Greeks reaps" (48–49). The switch from third-person singular (Hieron endured) to plural ("they discovered for themselves," 48) subtly includes the achievements of Gelon, although he is not mentioned by name,[45] and allows the temporal scope of the ode to include the events

[45] Cingano in Gentili et al. 1995: 344–345. Cummins 2010b: 9–11 emphasizes how Pindar's strategy here elides any mention of Gelon, minimizing his role in the victory in favor of emphasis on Hieron.

of 480 (a move that becomes significant later, when Pindar constructs a parallelism with battles against the Persians on the mainland, 75–80). The past, then, has already had its adverse winds and challenges that have been overcome. Future prosperity and past achievement have been founded on a base of past toils, and continued prosperity will allow Hieron to forget these toils.[46] More: it will remind him of those achievements while bringing forgetfulness of any pain. This paradoxical combination of memory and forgetfulness straddles the boundary between the strophe and antistrophe, with forgetfulness closing the former and memory opening the latter. As elsewhere in Pindar, victory brings compensation for and release from past toils. Toil is, in fact, linked with victory as an enabling factor; labor and the pain that goes with it is a necessary precondition (*P*. 12.28). Poetic speech celebrating the victory, moreover, is itself seen as a form of compensation for toil.[47] Thus at *Nemean* 8.49–50 we learn that a man may make toil painless by means of chants, and similarly at *Olympian* 11.4–5, if someone succeeds with toil, honey-sweet hymns are accomplished for him. Most significantly, the opening of *Nemean* 4 (already considered in the previous chapter for its relevance to *Pythian* 3) comments that "festivity is the best doctor for toils that have been judged, and songs, the wise daughters of the Muses, grasp hold of them and soothe them, nor does warm water make the limbs so soft as praise does, the companion of the lyre."[48] Thus the themes of toil, pain, victory, compensation, song (with its power over memory and forgetting), and healing are deployed in *Pythian* 1 in a familiar way.

Yet Hieron's historical context gives these themes a particular resonance. Although we may begin by reading the passage as the exemplification of the standard theme of athletic victory obliterating *ponos*, we soon see that this is an oversimplification. The second triad had linked chariot victory and city foundation, and it seemed natural enough to make these the referents of the poet's wish that Hieron's life continue on the same course. We soon see, however, that the past toils include not just the effort and expense involved in the raising of horses (effort for which the victory is a reward) but dangers undergone in battle and withstood by Hieron with a soul at once enduring and bold (*tlamoni*, 48). Hieron is to remember his endurance in battle because it brought his family unprecedented honor and was a result of divine providence. In this instance, then, Hieron's relationship with the past must be a measured combination of memory and forgetfulness: forgetfulness of

[46] As is also the case for Theron's family: *O*. 2.20–22.
[47] Kurke 1991:110–111.
[48] Cf. also *N*. 10.24; *I*. 5.24–25.

toil but memory of endurance. Military victory is a triumph even more significant than chariot victory. Nor is the endurance involved a matter only of athletic expertise or extraordinary spending. The battle metaphor so widespread in Pindaric epinician is here literal.

Hieron's ill health, to which Pindar will soon refer (50–51, cf. 55), further complicates the issue. For a sick person, forgetfulness of toil and pain will mean something different than it does for someone else.[49] As we have seen from *Nemean* 4, victory song is the healing charm or incantation that "cures" the pains involved in agonistic effort. But where is the incantatory song that will heal Hieron's ills? (This problem was at the core of *Pythian* 3.) The evocation of his past victories must bring some relief, but not physical healing. That is attainable only by prayer and in the realm of mythological exemplum, as we shall see. The themes of toil, pain, healing, and incantatory song are, then, displaced from the realm of athletic victory, where they function partly literally and partly metaphorically, into the realm of military and political endeavor, where they are more uniformly literal. The immediate occasion allows the poet to take the characteristic modalities of praise we find in athletic epinician and reapply them in another context. The chariot victory provides a generic overlay to structure and understand Hieron's nonathletic achievements, and much of the fascination in interpreting this ode comes from examining the interplay of the landscape of epinician with the powerful tectonic forces of contemporary history.

The honor won by Hieron and his family is described as "a lordly crown of wealth" (50). In the world of epinician poetry victory at the games is the crowning achievement of wealth.[50] In this poem, the crowning achievement of wealth is victory in battle over the enemies of Greece.[51] Unlike chariot victory, this is an honor that no contemporary can match, and Pindar is not slow to point this out. It is worth looking in some detail at the precise language he uses.

The Deinomenids have won "the kind of honour that none of the Greeks reaps, a lordly crown of wealth" (48–50). In what sense are the Deinomenid

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[49] For Pfeijffer 2005: 24–25 a reference to the toils of war is ruled out by the following lines, and the primary referent of καμάτων is Hieron's sickness. Yet forgetfulness of sickness is problematic unless one has been cured, and the immediate context of the lines brings into play both athletic and military toils.

[50] Kurke 1991: 98–99.

[51] The scholia interpret these victories to be those by which Gelon and Hieron gained tyranny in Sicily (schol. *P.* 1.87, 94). This seems extremely unlikely, especially in the first decade after the Persian Wars. It would be bathos indeed for Pindar to refer to internal Sicilian wars as battles with enemies that have generated unprecedented honor in the same poem in which he brings Deinomenid victories into the panhellenic orbit.

victories a crown of wealth? We may remember, first, that according to Herodotus when the mainland Greeks made their embassy to Gelon asking for help prior to Xerxes' invasion, he offered two hundred triremes, twenty thousand hoplites, two thousand cavalry, and an equal number of archers, slingers, and light horsemen, together with corn for the whole Greek army for the duration of the war (Hdt. 7.158). All this if they will make him commander (*hēgemōn*) of the Greek forces. In return for acknowledged preeminence, which was, of course, denied to him by the allied forces, Gelon offers troops and provisions. He can supply these because of his tyrannical wealth. This potential transaction of wealth for preeminence parallels that showcased in the "crown of wealth" metaphor.[52] Although the Deinomenids did not lead the Greeks to victory on the mainland they did conquer at Himera and later at Kumai, and with obtrusive emphasis Pindar makes this success a crown—the crown that no other Greek has won.

Second, in the case of the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily Deinomenid victory was not only a result of wealth but a generator of it. The aftermath of the invasion generated unprecedented wealth for the Emmenids and the Deinomenids in slaves and indemnity. Victory was thus not only a crown of wealth as its culmination but also a crown *consisting of* wealth. The legend of the Damareteion, told in Chapter 2, seems to be a reification of some of these themes. The Carthaginians used the good offices of Hieron's sister-in-law and Gelon's wife Damarete to get favorable treatment after their defeat. In gratitude they gave her a gold crown worth one hundred gold talents, and from this crown coinage was struck (Diod. Sic. 11.26.3). As we have seen previously, it is difficult to read the legend literally, but it is notable how the story connects Deinomenid victory in battle (itself due to tyrannical wealth and resources) with a crown that is literally convertible into coined wealth.

It is illuminating to compare lines 48–50 with the later assessment of Herodotus that Pausanias of Sparta, the victor of Plataia, won there "the most beautiful victory of which we know" (9.64.1), and with Plutarch's (*Them*. 15.2) acknowledgement of Themistokles' contribution to the victory at Salamis, that "no more brilliant deed by sea has been done either by Greeks or barbarians, won by the common courage and eagerness of all who fought in the sea battle, but by the judgment and cleverness of

[52] Interestingly, the issue of money and honor may have played a part in one of a set of Greek speeches debating whether to accept Gelon's offer at the end of Diodorus book 10 (and perhaps in Timaeus as well), if we accept the reconstruction of Bravo 1993: 459.

Themistokles." Here we need to look back to the material surveyed in Chapter 4. There I argued that the decade after the Persian invasion of the Greek mainland was characterized by intense competition to claim that a certain a city or a certain leader had been instrumental in the Greek victory, and that Pausanias and Themistokles were important players in this panhellenic sport. We have seen in Chapter 4 the fate that befell these rivals: accusations of medism and exile or death. I find it hard not to see in Pindar's boast of Deinomenid achievements in *Pythian* 1 a direct reaction to the climate of aretalogy after the wars. Like Pausanias and Themistokles, Gelon and Hieron won great victories.[53] Unlike Pausanias and Themistokles, however, Hieron's victory will not result in questionable wanderings in the Aegean and rapprochement with the enemy, since Hieron's victories, as we shall see, are meant to keep the enemy at home and Hieron himself is attached to Aitna by founder's precedent and the weight of the mythological past. Pausanias' desire for tyrannical power, so went the story, led to corruption. Themistokles' desire to keep a foremost position in Athens led to ostracism and exile. But in the case of one who already has unquestioned preeminence, all that is required is that the future cohere with the past instead of the protagonist undergoing a tragic reversal. The jealousy and rumor-mongering that surrounded Pausanias and Themistokles will be forestalled by the conquest of *phthonos* represented in the last triad.

The introduction of Philoktetes as paradigm in line 50 introduces the important theme of the Trojan War and specifies the sort of endurance that Hieron has displayed. It is physical weakness; Hieron campaigned like Philoktetes at Troy. In the wake of the Persian Wars, the Trojan War was increasingly conceived as a precursor to the later Persian conflict, as it seems to have been in Simonides' elegy on the Battle of Plataia.[54] It is not, therefore, surprising that Pindar might choose the war as an analogue for the Deinomenid struggle with the Carthaginians and Etruscans, especially if Hieron was engaged in one-upmanship with the mainland

[53] Like Pausanias and Themistokles, moreover, Gelon was denied by the rest of the Greeks the preeminence he sought. The competition between Pausanias, Themistokles, and Gelon is explicit in the tradition followed by Diodorus (11.23.3): "of the most conspicuous of the leaders among the Greeks, Pausanias and Themistokles, the one was put to death by his own citizens for treason and because of his lust for power, and the other, driven out of all of Greece, took refuge with Xerxes, his bitterest enemy, and lived in his territory until his death, but Gelon after the battle [of Himera] continuously enjoyed increasing approbation, grew old in the kingship among the Syracusans, and died an object of respect."

[54] Boedeker 2001a: 124–126.

Greeks. Even apart from the general aptness of the Trojan theme, the figure of Philoktetes had much to offer as a paradigm. The hero was attacked by a venomous snake on the way to Troy and bitten on the heel. The infected wound suppurated and smelled so vile that the other Greeks abandoned him on Lemnos. Philoktetes spent most of the war there, until the Greeks discovered that Troy was fated not to be taken without the bow of Herakles, which was in the possession of Philoktetes. The Greeks returned to Lemnos, won over the hero, and took him to Troy, where he killed Paris and was healed of his wound. He thus was a seemingly marginal figure who played a pivotal, indeed a destined, role in the defeat of the Trojans, was gravely ill, and yet healed. This set of characteristics makes him a good match for Hieron, who like Philoktetes has gone on campaign while sick. The primary referent of this allusion must be Hieron's victorious intervention at Kumai in 474, when he was already ill.[55] It is uncertain who the haughty person was who fawned on him as a friend. Speculation has included Anaxilas of Rhegion, Theron of Akragas, and Theron's son Thrasydaios.[56] Any of these is possible, since Hieron was at the height of his power and influence, but the imprecision of the formulation may well be designed, as Andrew Morrison has argued, to prevent the poem becoming obsolete as political circumstances changed.[57]

The Trojan parallel, however, opens additional vistas.[58] Philoktetes had been dismissed by the Greeks, who were later forced to repent their disrespectful treatment of him and beg for his aid. The haughty were thus compelled to fawn on him. In return, he ended their toils, and the poet prays that the gods may give Hieron similar help. This mythical model looks both to the past and to the future. Hieron personally and his family generally have already won undying fame, and their achievement is unmistakably portrayed by Pindar as the culmination of Trojan War–style Greek effort. The poet will repeat this move when he classes Deinomenid victory with the battles of Salamis and Plataia (75–80). Yet

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[55] Carey 1978: 21–27. Gentili in Gentili et al 1995: 16 notes the presence in Syracuse of a statue of Philoktetes by Pythagoras of Rhegion and speculates that he may have enjoyed hero cult there. See Bonanno 2010: 203–207 for further thoughts on the relevance of Philoktetes, including the interesting suggestion that one of his attractions was as an oikist figure in the Greek west. Bonanno sees the hand of Hieron in the choice of Philoktetes as paradigm, noting that Bacchylides and Epicharmus composed on him also. Of Epicharmus' possible treatment only the title remains (*PCG* I, p. 99), and we have no particular reason to connect Bacchylides' lost dithyramb on Philoktetes (Bacch. fr. 7 = schol. *P.* 1.100) with Syracuse.

[56] Anaxilas and Theron: schol. *P.* 1.99a,b. Thrasydaios: Diod. Sic. 11.53.

[57] Morrison 2007: 90.

[58] Carey 1978: 25; cf. Pfeijffer 2005: 26.

the victory at Himera in particular could be interpreted as a kind of inversion of the Philoktetes myth. In Herodotus, as we have seen, the mainlanders asked Gelon for aid against the invading Persian forces. That is, the Greeks came to someone on an island to ask for help with a barbarian enemy. In the fifth-century case, the embassy came to nothing over issues of leadership, whereas the mythological embassy was successful. In both cases, proud and haughty ambassadors had to make a request, and in the case of Gelon the haughtiness of the ambassadors (and of the recipient of their requests) was such that they failed in their goal. Thus the victory of the heroic figure, in this case Gelon, had to be transferred conceptually from Greek victories on the mainland (in which he did not participate) to Sicilian victory. Hieron's own success at Kumai also came as a response to an embassy asking for help; this time the petitioners were the people of Kumai (Diod. Sic. 11.51.1–2) when they were threatened by the Etruscans. The parallels certainly do not map precisely, but the situations before the battles of Himera and Kumai both involve petitions for aid against barbarian foes, and Hieron's illness makes the Philoktetes parallel especially pressing in his case. Indeed, it may be the conflation of these situations that is responsible for the incoherent report of the scholiast (ad 146a) that at the time Xerxes was preparing his invasion ambassadors came to *Hieron* from the Athenians asking him to ally with the Greeks. Those around *Gelon* agreed, and after they readied a sea and land army they defeated the Carthaginian force that had set out against Sicily, so that they freed both the Sicilians and the rest of the Greeks. Senseless as this notice is, it is a telling interpretation of the rhetoric of the ode, in which Hieron (playing the role of Philoktetes) is central to Greek requests and Sicilian victories save not only the Sicilians but the Greeks, as though Gelon's response to the Greeks was assent rather than refusal.[59]

As for the future, the poem clearly conceives of the Etruscan and Carthaginian threat as an active one, and the threat of volcanic eruption (with all its attendant symbolism) is ongoing. The poet's prayer that god may uphold Hieron as he did Philoktetes has a double application. It looks toward possible healing for Hieron, but it may even suggest (whether realistically or not, and I am inclined to think not) that Hieron's contributions to the Greek cause may also lie in the future (these are, after all, years of energetic anti-Persian campaigning in the Aegean). Whether or

[59] If Bravo 1993: 447–449 is correct in his reconstruction of Ephorus on the embassy, there may in fact have been a tradition in which Gelon said yes to the Greek request.

not this is the case, the poem is an energetic response to the kind of attitude represented in the anecdote in which Themistokles tried to block Hieron from competing in a horse race at Olympia, saying that those who had not shared in the danger should not participate in the festival.[60]

Not only does the Philoktetes paradigm tie Hieron firmly into the structure of panhellenic effort, it makes a prayer for healing. Once Philoktetes came to Troy, he was healed of his wound and was able to play his part in the Trojan defeat. Hieron goes one better: he achieved success and glory even while sick. Who knows what he could achieve if he were healed? God can set Hieron upright (56). The vocabulary used here, of setting straight and raising up, picks up on the earlier wish that time keep Hieron's course straight, but now the ship metaphor has become one of healing. Clearly the primary wish of both poet and patron is that the healing and the setting upright will be literal. Given, however, the density of the metaphorical texture of the ode, it remains possible that the healing will remain metaphorical, that poetry will be the medicine that cures toils to the extent that it can—a possibility activated, as we have seen, in *Pythian* 3, where the poet wishes (counterfactually) that he could have arrived by sea bringing a healer but instead counsels Hieron to accept gracefully the situation in which he finds himself. All Hieron can hope for is opportunity (*kairon,* 57) and the will to keep going (like Philoktetes) even when weighed down by sickness. This possibility sets him in strong contrast to Typhon, the enemy of the gods, whose bed of pain is eternal punishment. The monster's bed (explicitly figured as such) is under Aitna; Hieron's conceptual bed is on Aitna. The former will never get up, but god may help the latter rise and fulfill his fate, a fate embodied in the mountain and its settlements.

Dorian Constitutionalism

The third triad ends with a celebratory glance at Deinomenes, Hieron's son and newly installed king of Aitna, as Pindar asks the Muse to sing for him also "a recompense for the four-horse chariot" (58–60) on the grounds that his father's victory concerns him closely. The chariot victory is mentioned for the second time in the ode, again as a transitional element leading to an evocation of the city of Aitna. This time, however, the center of attention is Hieron's son as king, thus introducing to the ode the theme

[60] See Chapter 4.

of orderly succession that will be important in the next triad. Although some interpreters have concluded from these lines that the rest of the ode is directed toward Deinomenes rather than Hieron, Adolf Köhnken has convincingly shown that Hieron remains the focus throughout the remainder of the poem.[61] The introduction of Deinomenes allows Hieron to be the grammatical subject of the verb of foundation as the fourth triad opens (similarly to line 31, where he was referred to as "famous founder").

Hieron's foundation of Aitna is now set firmly in a Spartan tradition through a roll call of Spartan names and locales that allude to the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese and Laconia. Hieron has founded the city "with god-built freedom in the laws of Hyllos' rule" (61–62). Pindar expands on the Spartan model in terms of the desire of the descendants of Pamphylos and the Herakleidai to "remain Dorians in the ordinances of Aigimios" (62–65). The Spartans ("blessed ones," 65) captured Amyklai and flourished there after migrating from Pindos in northern Greece, and they are now neighbors to the Tyndaridai. This is the Dorian constitutional fate and stability that Pindar and Hieron want for the inhabitants of Aitna. The Spartan kings were descended from Hyllos, son of Herakles, and Aigimios (whose sons were Pamphylos and Dymas) was one of the original kings of the Dorians. Amyklai was one of the five villages that made up ancient Sparta. Pindar's compressed account, as Irad Malkin observes, "throws together a few of the names associated with the Dorian constitutive myth in order to make a Dorian point."[62]

What I would like to stress is how the presentation here coheres with a rhetoric of colonial foundation through displacement. The lines in which the poet presents the foundational polity of Aitna are themselves an inset narrative of colonization, as the Dorians migrate into the Peloponnese and appropriate the heroes of the land (the Tyndaridai). The rhetoric of foundation employed here matches the Deinomenid philo-Dorian policy explored in Chapter 2. Hieron has founded Aitna with Dorian institutions set under a Spartan aegis. Philo-Dorianism aside, the Spartan model is particularly apt for the founder of Aitna, who came to the preexisting Ionian settlement of Katane, moved the Ionian inhabitants to Leontinoi, and imposed a new Dorian population on the city. Greeks displacing Greeks: this is not necessarily the colonial model we have come to expect, where wild lands and their inhabitants are tamed by Greek civilization. Nevertheless,

[61] Köhnken 1970.

[62] Malkin 1994: 41. See also Bonanno 2010: 150–151 for speculation on how the parallelism with Sparta fits into a broader Dorian policy for the Deinomenids.

the Typhon narrative at the beginning of the poem fills in, as it were, for the standard colonial narrative. The defeat of the monster who threatens civilization and the subsequent picture of Aitna as an element in a fertile and tamed landscape come immediately before the poet's first evocation of city foundation. Historical reality is elided from the surface of the poem. In an ode almost obsessed with notions of precedent and exemplarity, one more precedent is obtrusively presented. The fate of Sparta is to be the fate of Aitna. This fate is to be an "accurate report" (ἔτυμον λόγον, 68), if Zeus grants his support. Just as Apollo in the second triad was asked to fulfill the ominous import of Hieron's chariot victory for the city of Aitna, where popular *logos* created an expectation of success, so Zeus is to grant that the *logos* of Dorian foundation at Sparta be a true precedent for the city. The precedent, moreover, is a royal one: it is to apply to both kings and citizens. Pindar's generalizing plural in line 68 (*basileusi*) covers the discrepancy that the royal tradition at Sparta was for dual kingship, while only one (hereditary) king was envisioned at Aitna. Still, the father-to-son lineage of the royal houses of Sparta is an important authorizing model for Hieron's dynastic dreams.[63]

The two cities are thus set in constitutional parallel.[64] The axis formed between Aitna and Sparta, besides forging ties with a major mainland power that has just played a leading role in defeating the Persians, is an axis that symbolizes stability. The Spartans wish "always" to remain Dorian, as is their tradition, and they have indeed been successful for centuries.[65] The voyage of the city of Aitna through time is just beginning and aspires to the same stability. We have already seen how the mountain itself, a heavenly column, maps that quality onto the Sicilian landscape in historico-mythological terms. Genealogical stability, as a father entrusts a kingdom to his son (ἀγητὴρ ἀνήρ, υἱῷ τ' ἐπιτελλόμενος, 69–70), becomes political stability when the leader (*hagētēr*) is concerned not only with heredity but with equitable relations between the various classes in the city; coordinate with the activity of giving orders to one's son is that of honoring the people (δᾶμον γεραίρων, 70). This is nicely phrased. The verb γεραίρω in Pindar is most often used of honoring someone with or for a victory prize (the word *geras* means a prize of honor or a noble

[63] Cf. Luraghi 1994: 358–360.

[64] Kirsten 1941, for whom, implausibly, the foundation of Aitna is a quasi-utopian exercise designed to avoid the tyrannical brutalities of Syracuse and create a constitutional kingship that preserves the freedom of the *dēmos*. Hieron's poet has done his work well.

[65] Brillante 1992: 17 finds another parallel between Sparta and Hieron's Aitna in the close relationship of music with battle and constitutional structure.

prerogative). It is an interesting word to apply to the people (*damos*) of a city. It implies that they will enjoy stable prerogatives and even honor at the hands of their leaders.[66] The recipient of commands, on the other hand, is the leader's son. Vocabulary thus subverts our expectations. Deinomenes has been given a kingly and inherited prerogative but is commanded, while the *damos* is not ordered around but given a prerogative of its own.[67] The result of this state of affairs is "harmonious peace" (σύμφωνον . . . ἡσυχίαν). The themes of Aitna, (threatened) cosmic stability, and city foundation have slid almost imperceptibly from the realm of external politics (defeat of monsters and barbarians through battle and city foundation) to internal city politics (Dorian freedom, harmonious class relations between *dēmos* and kings). Aitna is the pivot for this transition.

Given the invocation to the lyre in the beginning of the ode, it is fitting that civic peace is characterized as *symphonon*, harmonious. For Schadewaldt, indeed, the connection between harmony and justice is the dominant theme of the ode.[68] The opening contrast between the reaction to music of those whom Zeus loves and those whom he doesn't is now reflected at the level of internal polis relations. Typhon hates music, but Hieron clearly likes it (since he has commissioned Pindar). It follows that if one does not like Pindar's music or Hieron's regime, one is, like Typhon, an enemy of cosmic order. At line 38, Pindar prayed that the city would be famous for harmonious festivities (εὐφώνοις θαλίαις), and this is apt for a city that helps to pin down the music-hating monster. The task of the leader of the city, then, is to create musical and political harmony. The role that the leader plays in lines 69–71, of paying honor and giving commands and guidance, is related to that of the poet, who also gives honor where honor is due, enjoins proper behavior, and fashions harmonious relations between victor and polis.

The passage on civic relationships in Aitna is sandwiched between the material on Philoktetes and the Trojan War and Pindar's next prayer to Zeus that will return us to the arena of panhellenic wars. His request is that

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[66] Harrell 2002: 447 connects this passage to the just apportionment of honors and prerogatives under Zeus in Hesiod's *Theogony*.

[67] Kirsten 1941: 65 emphasizes the connection of prerogatives (γέρα) with Greek kingship while insisting on the historical sovereignty of the *dēmos*. He notes the novelty of Pindar's verbal construction here, but his belief that the poem presents a serious and idealizing constitutional plan for the newly founded city means he underestimates the pointedness of Pindar's paradoxical formulation ("Erst Pindar kennt γέρα für den Demos, aber er bleibt damit im altern Vorstellungskreis").

[68] Schadewaldt 1966/[1928]: 79 [337]; unfortunately he takes this prominence to be unconnected to the praise of Hieron.

the Phoenician and the Etruscan war cry may remain peacefully at home (ἥμερον . . . κατ᾽ οἶκον, 71–72) now that they have experienced defeat at Kumai. The harmonious peace of Aitna is juxtaposed with the war cry of the barbarians and their consequent lamentation. Future quietude on the part of the barbarian is to match the hoped-for political *hēsuchia* of Aitna (both potential states of quietude have been devised by the same man). Pindar's mastery of the subtleties of word order encourages his audience to combine the Phoenician and the Etruscan war cry into one concept, resulting in a certain historical conflation whereby the defeat at Kumai is experienced by both Phoenicians and Etruscans. Strictly speaking, only the Etruscan war cry saw disaster at Kumai, but it is conceptually important that both Deinomenid barbarian foes be brought together here to serve as Hieron's defeated enemies.[69] At last Hieron's connection with Kumai, implicit since the beginning of the ode, is made explicit. The Etruscans (not to mention the Phoenicians) are to learn the lessons of the past. They have seen what happened when they challenged Hieron at Kumai. The result was suffering (οἷα . . . πάθον, 73). The memory of past woe here reverses the acts of memory urged on Hieron earlier in the ode. Future time was to give him forgetfulness of labors and memory of his endurance and the honor earned in battle. His opponents, however, must remember what they suffered and how they were defeated. Memory functions differently for winners and losers; for the former it is forgetfulness of pain and memory of honor, while for the latter it is memory of pain. The poet here fulfills his most ancient role as arbiter of memory and forgetting, and the king, who (as we have seen in Hesiod) deploys his own musical gifts, exercises a similar power. Can we doubt that Zeus, the object of the poet's prayer, is the ultimate guarantor of this politico-musical order? Like Typhon, the Phoenicians and Etruscans met defeat in Kumai and Sicily. Like Typhon, they must stay where they are. Like Typhon, they are deprived of music.[70] Nor is it an accident that the red flame that carries rocks to the sea during eruptions of the volcano is characterized in Greek by the adjective *phoinissa* (24), while the Phoenician war cry is *phoinix* (72).[71]

Placing Hieron's constitutional settlement at Aitna between the Trojan War and the Battle of Kumai makes it almost synonymous with his victory

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[69] As Nino Luraghi has pointed out to me, the scholiast at *P.* 1.137c seems to take the conflation at face value. Bravo 1993: 442 n. 116 imagines that a historically well-informed audience of the ode would have understood the Etruscans as subject here, but it seems to me more likely that Pindar is muddying the waters.

[70] Brillante 1992: 12. For the connection of *hēsuchia,* music, and politics, see Slater 1981: 210–211.

[71] Lefkowitz 1976: 119.

over barbarian foes; one monarchical act is mapped onto another and resistance is not only futile but impious. We shall see in Chapter 9 how *Nemean* 9 makes the same significant juxtaposition of civic structure with "defensive" wars against the barbarian.[72] In terms of *Pythian* 1, we now see that Hieron's family victories are part of a series of battles that included the famed Greek victories at Salamis and Plataia and were decisive for panhellenic achievement.[73] Earlier references to Cilicia and Troy and ending trial for the Greeks now give way, in the final stanza of the fourth triad, to direct reference to the battles of the Persian and Carthaginian wars, as Pindar first declares that by winning the Battle of Kumai the leader of the Syracusans saved Greece from slavery, and then broadens his focus by aligning mainland and Sicilian victories. He will win the Athenians' gratitude for singing of Salamis, the Spartans' for singing of Plataia ("the battles before Kithairon") and further appreciation by accomplishing a "hymn for the children of Deinomenes" at Himera (lines 75–80). This culminating reference to Himera is nicely calculated to present the victory there not as Gelon's achievement but as a family success that includes Hieron in its compass.[74]

It might perhaps strike one that to assert that the Battle of Kumai helped Greece escape from heavy slavery was a somewhat extravagant claim. This is the kind of rhetoric that we are familiar with from Simonidean epigrams on the Persian Wars.[75] The cenotaph erected at the Isthmus for the Corinthian fighters who died at Salamis (*AG* 7.250; Page *FGE* "Simonides" XII, Plut. *Mor.* 870e) boasted that they saved all of Greece (Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν) with their own lives. Similarly, the epitaph of the Corinthian Adeimantos, who commanded the Corinthians at the Battle of Salamis (*AG* 7.347, Page *FGE* "Simonides" X, Plut. *Mor.* 870f), declared that through him "all Greece put on the crown of freedom" (ὃν δία πᾶσα / Ἑλλὰς ἐλευθερίας ἀμφέθετο στέφανον). Most exciting is the possible resonance between *Pythian* 1 and an epigram preserved in fragments on a monument for Athenian dead in the Persian Wars. I noted in Chapter 4 that

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[72] Cf. Marconi 1997: 7–9 on the *atlantes* of the Olympieion at Akragas as expressive of the subordination of both internal and external enemies to the power of the tyrant.

[73] As Carey (1978: 25) and Pfeijffer (2005: 36) aptly remark, the ode presents Hieron as savior of Greece. To argue, as Bravo 1993: 442 does, that only the Greek inhabitants of Campania are meant is to miss the point.

[74] Cummins 2010b: 4, 9–11.

[75] See the discussion of panhellenism and epigrams in Chapter 4. Pindar's formulation here caused great confusion for the scholiasts and continues to disquiet. The scholiasts wonder whether by "Greece" Pindar meant Sicily or even Attica (*ad P.* 1.146, a, b). Cf. the discussion of Bravo 1993: 442–444, who thinks that only the Greeks of Campania can be meant.

the restoration of this monument is controversial, and unfortunately the third line of the epigram (*IG* I^3 503/504 = Page *FGE* "Simonides" XXa)—the most important one for present purposes—is reconstructed on the basis of a presumed later copy (Agora I 4256).[76] Any argument here runs the risk of circularity, but if we accept the restoration, as I am inclined to do, we have a reference to swift-moving ships, and then in line 4 the claim to have saved Greece from slavery:

ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ἀρετε[. . . .9 . . . . ος ἄφθιτον] αἰεί·
. [. . . . 8 . . . .]ν[.]ρ[. . . . .9 . . . . νέμοσι θεοί·]
ἔσχον γὰρ πεζοί τε [καὶ ὠκυπόρον ἐπὶ νεῶ]ν·
ηελλά[δα μ]ὲ πᾶσαν δούλιο[ν ἦμαρ ἰδεῖν·].

. . . excellence of these men . . . [imperishable] forever
. . . [the gods dispense]
for on foot and [on swift-moving ships] they prevented
all Greece [from seeing the day of] slavery

Both the epigram, then, and Pindar's ode claim that the victory in question has saved Greece from slavery. Even more striking is that Pindar tells how the Etruscans were cast from their "swift-moving ships" (ὠκυπόρων ἀπὸ ναῶν, 74). John Barron speculated attractively that Pindar is here paraphrasing the last two lines of the epigram; it is clear that Athenian (and other?) claims to have achieved salvation for all circulated early.[77] The epigrams cited here, and others as well, are an indication of the kind of rhetoric that was in the air in the aftermath of the wars.[78] Yet it is still surprising that this vocabulary would be applied to Sicilian victory. Even more surprising is that this sort of vocabulary eventually entered the literary tradition in connection with the tripod monument set up in Delphi by Gelon (see Chapters 2 and 4). The poet's assertion is of a piece with the rhetorical program of the ode as we have examined it: the projection of both myth and recent history onto the landscape of Magna Graecia and the alignment with Sparta. The extravagance works partly because of the larger context in which it is set. The poet arranges mainland and Sicilian battles chiastically: Kumai-Hieron, Salamis-Athens (both sea battles), Sparta-Kithairon/Plataia, Himera-Deinomenids (both land battles). The association with

[76] Barron 1990 (suggested full text of the epigram at 137); Matthaiou 2000–2003.
[77] Barron 1990: 137–141.
[78] Cf. e.g., Herodotus 8.143–144 for the choice between freedom and slavery as emblematic for the wars. See also Raaflaub 2004: 59–65.

warfare that did indeed save (mainland) Greece from slavery softens the assertion, but some sleight of hand is involved. The chronologically most recent battle (Hieron's victory) is given pride of place and comes first in its stanza. Yet since it is the last battle of a series (at least in the poet's presentation) it pre-empts other claims to have saved Greece from slavery. Even if the Greeks thought the events of 480–79 were decisive, it turns out that the battle was not yet won. It has taken Hieron to achieve this.[79]

In lines 71–80 Syracusan victory brackets mainland achievements. The final battle in the stanza, the Deinomenid victory at Himera, is the climactic member of the three-element crescendo that groups together the earlier battles of Salamis, Plataia, and Himera. The suffering of the enemy ties these battles together. The final phrase of the stanza, "when the enemy suffered/died" (πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν καμόντων, 80), refers to the defeat of Deinomenid enemies at Himera. It corresponds significantly to the suffering of the Medes at Plataia two lines earlier (*kamon*, 78), to the sufferings of the Etruscans at Kumai, and, more remotely, to the suffering of the enemy of the gods (θεῶν πολέμιος, 15) Typhon, early in the poem. In comparison with the defeats and deaths of enemies, Hieron's own sufferings (*kamatōn*, 46–47) are glory, and being sick (which is another meaning of the verb *kamnō* in Greek) is insignificant. The message could not be clearer: Salamis, Plataia, and Himera are the base and Kumai the culmination, the knock-out blow for freedom. Some have seen in this catalogue the first indication of the synchronicity between the battles of Himera and Salamis that is an element in the Sicilian version of the events of 480 as narrated in Herodotus: "They say too, that the victory of Gelon and Theron in Sicily over Hamilkar the Carthaginian fell out upon the very day that the Hellenes defeated the Persians at Salamis" (7.166).[80] There is no warrant for this in the poem. Yet the significant juxtaposition of battles in this ode is the first step toward the creation of such synchronisms and the development of a coherent Sicilian reading of the events of the 480s and 470s.

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[79] Hall 2004: 48–49 views the evocation of different battles here as "far from promoting a sense of Hellenic consciousness in confrontation with barbarians"; rather "the first *Pythian Ode* actually celebrates the Dorian institutions and ordinances that the tyrant Hieron established for the city of Etna." Yet, as I have argued, the opening of the battle sequence (*P*. 1.75) does indeed focus on Kumai as saving Greece from slavery, and the force of this introduction carries over to the subsequent conflicts.

[80] See the discussion in Chapter 2, with n. 53. For Bonanno 2010: 222–229 the synchronism was already part of Hieron's propaganda, omitted here because Pindar's concern is primarily with Kumai, which could not be synchronized.

Sailing the Ship of State

The final triad of the ode moves from recent history to a more general meditation on envy, reputation, and their relationship with kingship. Kings exist on the production as well as the reception end of speech, and the poet, as expert in mortal speech, attempts to mediate the relationship between the ruler and lesser men who may also be his subjects. The change at the beginning of the triad from the first person in which the poet organized panhellenic achievement to the second person is significant, since in its first instance in line 81, it is ambiguous. "If you should make a timely utterance" refers both to the duty of the poet not to arouse jealousy by excessive praise and to similar protocols that govern royal speech. Both should speak concisely because their discourse has weight and significance. As the remainder of the triad shows, royal speech has physical repercussions. Conversely, however, public reception and poetic speech have the last word over the reception of royal activity. A king must weigh short-term benefits or desires in light of the long-term rewards of poetic immortalization.[81]

The image of the ship returns as Hieron is exhorted to "direct the host with the steering oar of justice" (86), and later to let out his sail to the wind like a steersman (91–92). Ships were first encountered in line 33, where Hieron's chariot victory was figured as a propitious wind for seafaring men and thus a positive omen for the future of Aitna. Later on, Hieron's victory at Kumai is a naval one. He is such a good commander that he casts the barbarian enemy from their ships. Now Hieron's prowess in command at sea and the image of the city as a ship on a voyage are combined. If the city has set out on a sea journey, Hieron is the steersman. The ruler as steersman and the city as ship had a lyric pedigree: Alcaeus' famous evocation of his city as a storm-tossed ship,[82] or Theognis' plaint (1.671–676) that the "ship" is foundering, discipline has perished, and the crew are plundering the cargo since they have overpowered the steersman, who knew his business. Pindar uses the image at the conclusion of *Pythian* 4.272–274 ("it is easy even for weak men to shake a city, but to set it on the ground again is difficult, unless a god suddenly becomes a steersman for the leaders") and elsewhere.[83] Its resonance in *Pythian* 1 is especially

[81] Cf. Köhnken 1970: 8–9.

[82] Alcaeus frr. 6, 208 Campbell (= 326 Z2 L-P); fundamental discussion at Page 1955: 181–189; cf. Gentili 1988: 197–215. The storm in Alcaeus seems to be equated with the threat of one-man rule.

[83] Of the mind of god (*P*. 5.122); of the government of Thessalian cities by hereditary rulers (*P*. 10.72), and of a trainer (*I*. 4.71b).

marked, however, because as we have seen, it comes as the culmination of multiple evocations of sea voyages and naval events. The steersman metaphor gains weight and specificity in a situation where the victor has recently won a great sea battle. Real and metaphorical voyages and ships are stacked one upon the other and are mutually reinforcing.

In the final part of the ode, then, the poet places an emphatic picture of Hieron in command of his own destiny. Earlier on, time was to keep Hieron's fate on course, and then god was to act as the force that kept him upright. Now Hieron steers and can have sufficient confidence to carry full sail in the face of favorable winds. Winds are a frequent image for mortal vicissitude elsewhere in Pindar, winds that sometimes raise people up and sometimes knock them down.[84] In *Pythian* 1 the winds are overwhelmingly positive, but this need not surprise. One of the characteristics of Typhon in Hesiod, apart from his hundred heads and the variety of imitative but nonmusical sounds he makes, is that he is the origin of the whirlwinds and storms that destroy ships at sea and crops on land (*Theog.* 869–880). With the imprisonment of Typhon, reinforced by the foundation of Aitna and the victory at Kumai, Typhonic forces are under control.

Yet Typhon and those like him are not dead. Even if the monster is buried and the Carthaginians and Etruscans are cowed, the possibility of disruption exists within the city. In my discussion of *Olympian* 1 in Chapter 6, I examined how the envy of Tantalos' neighbors resulted in slander and a false poetic tradition, and how the problem of political jealousy was particularly fraught in the case of a tyrant, who is envied himself, envies others, and may be prone to evil speech and acts himself. Pindar now revisits these issues and their complexities. After the glories of panhellenic achievement in the fourth triad, the poet urges brevity because excess is counterproductive and (relatedly) because the citizens become distressed at the fine achievements of others. We may note that this gnomic reflection shows how thoroughly the victories at Himera and Kumai are conceived as personal Deinomenid achievements, even if they did save all Greece.[85] In line 59, Hieron's chariot victory was not "alien" to his son, but it is precisely "alien goods" that are depreciated by the citizens at 84. This verbal echo underlines the tensions implicit in hereditary monarchy. Envy is inescapable. It is, however, better than the alternative, pity (85), and thus is, as Leslie Kurke aptly puts it, "mocked rather than mollified."[86] Hieron must accept it as a systemic feature

[84] Steiner 1986: 68–73. See also the discussion of the winds of vicissitude in Chapter 7.
[85] Luraghi 1994: 362.
[86] Kurke 1991: 220.

of monarchy and carry on regardless; he must not "neglect noble things." Included in these noble things are, presumably, continued participation in the great games, continued military activity and political expansion, and continued acquisition of formal poetic praise. The "citizens" whose jealous grumblings concern the poet are now conceived as a "host" (*straton*) in need of guidance from the steersman. The word *host* is calculated to evoke the realization that the citizens ruled by Hieron are also his fighting force (by which he has defeated the barbarians) and that as a "host" they in fact need a commander.[87] They must be ruled, but ruled justly.

This last consideration effects a transition back to a focus on the nature of Hieron's rule in line 87. If the envy of one's subjects is systemic in a tyranny, one's reaction to it will be an important determinant of the success of one's rule. In real life, Hieron (as so many tyrants) did not react well to this situation, instigating, according to Aristotle (*Pol.* 5.1313b11–16) the first Greek force of secret police. The acknowledgment of such realities is far from the world of epinician praise. Yet the general problem must be addressed because it speaks to the issue of the reputation of the tyrant in the present and future. Hieron must forge his tongue on the anvil of truth because his position makes anything he says significant. Even a "spark" from him might cause a conflagration (87–88). The vocabulary of the forge here has been suggested by the image of Aitna, where Hephaistos was sometimes thought to have his smithy. The trivial word that flies up is a spark from this metaphorical forge and anvil. Hieron's fire is to be the fire of the craftsman of justice, not the volcanic meltdown of Typhon that destroys the countryside and threatens its citizens.

Hieron is a steward (*tamias,* 88) who controls and dispenses both things and people. The financial metaphor will be picked up by the subsequent references to gain and expenditures of which the ode itself and poetry in general are important exemplars. Poetry is also a witness, one of the many that Pindar evokes, for both good and evil achievements. The lesson is simple: a combination of just action and judicious expenditure on proper objects (like poetry) will produce a "sweet report." Hieron, in his position as steersman, must spread his sail to the wind and do justice to his good fortune, not be conservative.[88] The profits that bring shame are those that would entail not living up to his promise because of fear of envy or the desire to keep his wealth for himself (and not commission poetry). He must be true to himself

[87] Cf. the λάβρος στρατός of *P.* 2.87.
[88] Kurke 1991: 47, 186–187; Pfeijffer 2005: 34.

and remain "in the bloom of [his] character" (advice repeated at *P*. 2.72). This moral steadfastness (*parmenōn,* 89) matches the physical endurance (*paremein'*, 48) he showed in the battles of the past. Just as his endurance then won him unprecedented honor, his steadfastness in the future will win him the acclaim that is bestowed by top-rank poetry. His just actions, moreover, are themselves partly a matter of speech acts: a tongue forged on the anvil of truth, one that rises above its own jealousies and the jealousies of its subjects, one that speaks concisely at the critical moment (*kairos*) and avoids greed and excess. There is thus, as we have seen before, a profound reciprocity between kingly speech and poetic song, the same reciprocity that operated between the sound of the lyre and the will of Zeus in the opening of the ode.

The combination of just acts, just speech, and poetic celebration in the face of "many witnesses" will generate a tradition that will outlive Hieron: the "boast of fame (or reputation) made by men to come." Only this tradition can give evidence about the lives of those who have passed on. The recurrence here of terminology with a legal flavor returns us to the proem, where the lyre acted as an "advocate" (*sundikon*, 2) and auditors were judged by their reaction to music. In Hieron's case, and in the case of those like him, popular tradition generates material that bears witness (*martures,* 88; *manuei*, 93) for both poets and other sorts of storytellers and intellectual experts, material by which the famous are judged. The final lines of the ode thus theorize the process of poetic immortalization that has been at work in the bulk of the poem, and we become aware that we have been participating in the creation of tradition.[89] The process is exemplified in the posthumous fame and infamy of Kroisos and Phalaris. Kroisos would later be the focus of Bacchylides 3, written to celebrate Hieron's victory in the chariot race at Olympia in 468 (see further below). Here he is more briefly treated—his "kindly excellence does not perish"—although the Lydian king seems at this time to have been developing into a figure of resistance to Persia, and he is thus an apt exemplum in an ode which has been so concerned with defeating the forces of barbarism.

The evil Phalaris, however, gains more attention. Like Kroisos, the myth of Phalaris seems to have been undergoing considerable development at this time: the early tyrant of Akragas was being transformed into a model of tyrannical cruelty (see Chapter 3). Phalaris had a "pitiless mind that burned people in a brazen bull" (95–96). This final negative

[89] Köhnken 1970: 10.

paradigm resumes the major themes of the ode. Phalaris had had constructed a hollow bronze bull into which he would put his prisoners. A fire would be lit underneath, and their screams of agony would be transmuted by the mechanism of the bull into tuneful lowings. An evil tyrant, then, uses fire and the products of craft to evil purposes. What he produces is not music but animal sounds, and we may remember that one of the noises that Typhon made in Hesiod was like that of a mighty and irrepressible bull (*Theog.* 832). Therefore a hateful reputation constrains him (*katechei*, 96), just as Aitna constrains (*sunechei*, 19) Typhon. Lyres, we learn in line 97, do not receive him, and the poem completes the ring that started in the opening with the invocation of the lyre. Typhon's distress at the sound of music is mirrored in the refusal of music to celebrate an unjust tyrant and in the constraint under which it puts him.[90] Hieron's activities, on the other hand, are productive of good for his people and a fair reputation for him—the highest crown, as the end of the ode says.

Conclusion

Pythian 1 makes Hieron at home in a series of exemplary events both mythological and historical, and it is instructive to see how the latter bleeds into the former as a contemporary mythology of battles for freedom is fashioned. It marks Hieron's bid to join and upstage the illustrious company of those who had triumphed in the Persian Wars. The ode highlights and manipulates the construction of memory: what people wish not to be reminded of (for instance, other people's success, which was a problem for Hieron as it was for Themistokles, and in the case of Hieron and the Etruscans, past pain)—*and* what they should be reminded of (the fate of Typhon, the Etruscans, Phalaris, and possibly, if the argument of Chapter 4 is correct, the downfall of Pausanias). It evokes models to which they should aspire: Kroisos, the Dorian constitution of Sparta. At the core of the poem's thematics is the institution of divinely mandated kingship as Zeus of Aitna and Hieron of Aitna throw down their conquered foes and dispense stable government to their grateful subordinates.

But power is only half of the equation. Kings come from Zeus, and yet it is the gift of the Muses that makes their people look upon them like gods.

[90] Cf. Angeli Bernardini 1979a: 83.

Pindar's and Apollo's lyres communicate the aesthetic delights of divine order so powerfully that their music becomes an almost physical, and certainly a political, force.[91] The ordered cultural expression of political power is an integral part of its efficient exercise, creating the imaginary world within which the audience of the poem functions. That audience is both local and panhellenic. *Pythian* 1 may indeed have been performed at Hieron's Aitnaia festival, as some have speculated, but its ambitions are broad and were in my opinion certainly directed at mainland audiences also. For this latter audience the conjuring of the Spartan constitutional model and the connections drawn with Salamis and Plataia will have positively contextualized Hieron's Sicilian rule just at the time when the mainland Greeks were developing oppositions between freedom and autocratic (that is, Persian) slavery. Aitna has been established with "god-founded freedom" (61).

Like *Pythians* 2 and 3, *Pythian* 1 has seemed to some not to conform to their ideas of proper epinician: too much about city foundation, about illness, about jealousy at court. Yet however brief the reference to victory at the games, this ode and its sisters are true epinicians. This is not just because Pindar mentions victory at the games but because hippic achievement stands for military and political achievement. Chariot victory is a sign of other, more important conquests.

Coda: Bacchylides Ode 4, Fr. 20C, Ode 3

Hieron's chariot victory at Delphi and the foundation of Aitna are celebrated in two Bacchylidean poems that need our brief attention, together with the last victory ode composed for Hieron, Bacchylides 3, which celebrated his long-awaited Olympic chariot victory in 468, shortly before his death. These poems deserve fuller treatment than is possible here, but (as with Bacchylides 5 in Chapter 6) we can at least note areas of contrast and overlap with the Pindaric project.

Poems for 470: Fr. 20C and Ode 4

Bacchylides' fourth ode is a short (two stanzas) epinician for Hieron's chariot victory at Delphi in 470. It opens by observing that Apollo still loves Syracuse and honors Hieron, since Hieron has now won at the Pythian games for the third time. Bacchylides, the "cock of Ourania," has praised

[91] For more on the connection between lyric music and political stability (from Terpander to Timotheus and beyond), see Power 2010: 219–221, 394–403.

him before and now renews his songs.[92] If god had been holding the scales of justice correctly, we would now be honoring Hieron for the fourth time. Still, Hieron is the only mortal to have achieved this (presumably the three Delphic victories)—not to mention his two Olympic successes. What could be better than to be dear to the gods and have a share of all sorts of blessings?

Among the questions that have perplexed commentators on the ode, two will concern us here. First, does its brevity indicate that it was composed for performance at Delphi immediately after the victory? Second, why does Bacchylides focus in the opening of the poem on Hieron as ruler of Syracuse when Pindar at *Pythian* 1 implies that the victory announcement at Delphi proclaimed Hieron as Aitnaian?

Ever since Thomas Gelzer's 1985 article, many have believed that an identifiable group of short epinicians were composed for performance shortly after the victory at the location of the games, although there is nothing in the odes themselves that absolutely dictates such a scenario.[93] Bacchylides 4 has been associated with these odes, and if this is correct it becomes possible to construct an interesting picture of the performances associated with Hieron's chariot victory in 470. The win would be celebrated at Delphi almost immediately by Bacchylides 4, followed by a performance of *Pythian* 1 in a festival context at Aitna. We might choose also to associate Pindar's *hyporchema* (fr. 105a, b) with these celebrations. The festivities would be capped by the more intimate sympotic performance of the *enkomion* represented by Bacchylides fr. 20C (on which see below).[94] 470 would thus have seen an extraordinarily dense poetic celebration of Hieron in perhaps three lyric genres and in two locations. The Syracusan focus of Bacchylides 4 is intriguing. If we accept the hypothesis of performance at Delphi, then the reference to Syracuse in the opening lines renders it probable that Hieron was officially announced as a Syracusan at the games. In that case, *Pythian* 1.30–33 is employing considerable license when it says that "at the Pythian racecourse the herald proclaimed it [the city of Aitna] when he made the announcement on behalf of Hieron's beautiful victory."[95] It would also imply that Hieron was keen to be identified as

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[92] Reading, with Maehler 2004: 105, πάρεστιν δ' ἐν in line 14. If, with Catenacci and Di Marzio 2004: 79, we read παρ' ἑστίαν and make this refer to Hieron's hearth in Syracuse, we might be reminded of Hieron's blessed hearth at *O*. 1.11.

[93] Gelzer 1985. For a spirited attack on this hypothesis and further thoughts on the problem of Delphic versus Syracusan performance, see Eckerman 2012: 345–350.

[94] Cf. Cingano 1991a: 33–34; Catenacci and Di Marzio 2004: 72.

[95] Maehler 2004: 100–101. Maehler 1982, vol 2: 64–65 suggests as another possibility that Bacchylides composed the poem ahead of the games to be sung at Delphi itself, so that his

a Syracusan in a panhellenic venue. If Bacchylides 4 was not performed at Delphi, we might be able to salvage the idea of Aitna being named in the victory announcement, though we would still have to comment on the different geographic focus.

Since the matter is impossible to adjudicate with certainty, it is perhaps better to shift focus a little and consider what rhetorical work is done by the Syracusan context. *Pythian* 1 regards the victory through a squarely Aitnaian lens, as an initial omen for the city. Bacchylides 4 sets the achievement in a framework of ongoing victory. Apollo *still* loves Syracuse and Hieron; this is his third Delphic victory (and should have been his fourth[96]). Focusing on Aitna would have cut the poem off from prior panhellenic triumphs,[97] and although this was not an issue in *Pythian* 1 (whose ideological goals differ) there was no reason not to have the best of both worlds. Hieron is both of Syracuse and of Aitna. As lord of Syracuse he is "just ruler of the city" (*astuthemin*, Bacch. 4.3), a characterization that takes us back to his "sceptre of justice" (θεμιστεῖον . . . σκᾶπτον) at *O*. 1.12 and his "straight-judging mind" at Bacch. 5.6.[98] He renews with this victory a tradition of success due to divine favor. As founder of Aitna he initiates a new tradition. The two representations complement each other, no matter where their place of performance. It is certainly not the case that *Pythian* 1 was intended to create only a local effect, and the fame in Athens of the *hyporchema* for Hieron (fr. 105) shows that poetry celebrating the foundation of Aitna had a panhellenic circulation. Similarly Bacchylides 4, even if performed at Delphi, would have enjoyed an effective Sicilian afterlife.

Fragment 20C serves nicely as a conclusion to our examination of the poetry of 470 composed for Hieron, combining as it does references both to Aitna and to Hieron's pattern of panhellenic triumph as lord of Syracuse. It is preserved in *POxy.* XI 1361 (+ XVII 2081e) and is the remains of a sympotic song (a symposium was perhaps a good venue to mediate between Aitna and Syracuse). I print here the best-preserved portion:

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focus on Syracuse was superseded by Hieron's announcement at the games as Aitnaian. Yet such a scenario of advanced composition seems unlikely, and it is more economical to accept that different odes stressed different aspects of Hieron's position.

[96] I follow Cingano 1991b: 100–104 in thinking that the missing fourth victory refers to an unexpected (and "unjust") defeat at the Pythian Games of 474 (possibly by Polyzalos; Maehler 2004: 101).

[97] Hose 2000: 167.

[98] Cf. Hose 2000: 167–168.

[Ι]ΕΡΩΝΙ [ΣΥ]ΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΙ

Μήπω λιγυαχ[έα —]
  βάρβιτον· μέλλ[ω π]οḷ[υ – – ⏑ – –]
ἄνθεμον Μουσᾶ[ν Ἰ]έρων[ι ⏑ –]
  ξ̣ανθαῖσιν ἵπποις
[ἰμ]ερόεν τελέσας (5)
[κα]ὶ συμπόταις ἄνδρεσσι π[έμπειν

Αἶ]τ̣ναν ἐς ἐύκτιτον, εἰ κ[αὶ
  πρ]όσθεν ὑμνήσας τὸν [– – – ⏑ – –
πο]σσὶ λαιψ[η]ρο̣[ῖ]ς Φερ[ένικον ἐπ᾽ Ἀλ
  φ[ει]ῷ τε ν[ί]καν (10)
ἀγ[δ]ρ[ὶ χ]ᾰριζόμενος

For Hieron of Syracuse

Do not yet . . . the clear-sounding lyre.
Having completed a delightful, much- . . .
flower of the Muses
I am about to send it
to Hieron, and to the men who are his drinking companions
because of his tawny horses,

towards well-built Aitna,
if ever before I hymned Pherenikos
with his nimble feet,
and victory at Alpheos,
gratifying the man . . .

The remaining fragments go on to mention something all-golden belonging to Zeus (possibly his sanctuary), a summary priamel that refers to the countless skills (?) of men, and Dawn with her white horses, who looks down on no other man as fortunate (?) as Hieron.[99] The reference to "well-built Aitna" places the poem after the foundation of Aitna, and the mention of tawny horses in the plural, in addition to Pherenikos, probably indicates that Hieron has already won his chariot victory at Delphi. Consequently it belongs to 470 or shortly thereafter and can be associated with Bacchylides 4, examined above.[100] Yet whereas the fourth epinician focuses on Syracuse, this poem directs itself at the

[99] The reference to Dawn looking down (or whatever word of surveying we restore) on Hieron at line 22 may look back to Dawn's similar vision of Pherenikos in glory by the Alpheos at *Ode* 5.40.
[100] Cingano 1991a; Maehler 2004: 251–252.

new city of Aitna, for which, as Maehler notes, the Homeric epithet "well-built" is particularly appropriate.[101] We may imagine, then, performance in Hieron's new city, perhaps even in association with an inauguration festival there.[102]

Even in its fragmentary state, the poem is dense with familiar motifs: the reference to the lyre (here the *barbitos*), the evocation of the symposium (unsurprising in sympotic song, yet shared also with *Olympian* 1), the summary priamel, the superlative vaunt. What is noteworthy is how the poem locates itself as a supplement to the present celebration and connects itself to previous epinician celebration. If we contrast the opening of 20C with that of 20B, a sympotic song for Alexander I of Macedon, we see that whereas the latter starts with the poet's exhortation to the lyre to come to his hands from the peg, 20C begins with the command not to stop the music yet. Further, 20B.5 conceives the song as an "adornment for *symposia* at the end of the month" (just as Pindar fr. 124.2 for Thrasyboulos of Akragas imagines itself as a sympotic dessert) and is thus marked as generic sympotic song. By contrast, 20C is more specific, contextualizing itself not only in terms of Aitna but among Hieron's previous victories with their associated songs. The poet may choose how he connects song and symposium: Does the ode initiate the singing or does it complete it? Clearly 20C represents itself as coming at the end. There is time for one more song (in spite of the fact that the poet imagines himself "sending" the poem).[103] This simple conceit is remarkably effective. It ties the song to the recent epinician performances of *Pythian* 1 and Bacchylides' own fourth ode.[104] It also contributes to the evocation of the intensely musical culture of Hieron's court: the sympotic *barbitos* has been hard at work, but Bacchylides cannot yet let it rest. He projects himself as cramming one more song into an already crowded occasion. The rhetorical dynamics here are a kind of pendant to those in *Olympian* 1. There, Pindar evoked sympotic musical play around the table of friendship as a preliminary foil to his command to take the *phorminx* off the peg and create an epinician for Pherenikos' Olympic victory. Here the accumulation

[101] Maehler 1997: 333–334.

[102] Brannan 1971: 178.

[103] For the "strangely double nature" of the poetic "I" here and in 20B ("present in performance, but also performatively absent because of the construct of poetic 'sending' "), see Fearn 2007: 41.

[104] Budelmann 2012: 179 n. 18 suggests a resonance between this poem and the end of *P.* 1 with its reference to sympotic performance.

of epinician song, on this and on prior occasions, gives way to a final sympotic celebration on the *barbitos*.

The relationship with epinician is particularly close here. Recent scholarship on lyric genres has rightly emphasized the formal and thematic overlap between sympotic *enkomion* and epinician, and a prize example has been Bacchylides fragment 20C.[105] While not wanting to dispute the basic point, I do wonder whether this song is unusually emphatic about athletic achievement; it mentions not only victory but also epinician. Without more complete examples of sympotic *enkomia*, it is impossible to be certain how athletic victories were "usually" treated in such poems, yet the opening of the second stanza at line 7 goes out of its way to refer not just to recent and prior triumphs but to the memorialization of these triumphs in song by the poet. Bacchylides says that he wants to send a flower of the Muses to Hieron, if ever previously he hymned Pherenikos. We know that he had hymned Pherenikos' Olympic victory of 476 in his fifth ode (see Chapter 6), and the badly preserved lines following the second stanza of 20C tell how "then" (line 13) maidens had (probably) celebrated in the sanctuary of Zeus there. Thus 20C recalls Hieron's recent victory with his tawny horses, Pherenikos at Olympia, Pherenikos at Delphi,[106] the reaction of the crowd at Olympia, and Bacchylides' fifth epinician, and it explicitly uses the prior epinician performance to motivate the present song: Bacchylides sends this song now, *if* he praised Pherenikos before. It is hard to imagine a poem more densely packed with victory, applause, and song.

In Chapter 2 we considered briefly the victory monument erected at Olympia after Hieron's death by his son Deinomenes. It was a composite monument, combining a central chariot group with two flanking racehorses and jockeys and commemorating all three of Hieron's Olympic victories. Bacchylides 20C recalls all of Hieron's athletic triumphs up to this point (though it could not, of course, anticipate the Olympic chariot victory) and might be considered a more flexible counterpart to the monument, one that combines victories in a number of locations and also looks to the victory celebrations and the broader musical culture of the court. The resumptive tone might also remind us of *Pythian* 3, which, as we have seen, glances nostalgically at Pherenikos' past triumphs (this time at Delphi). There was still a victory to come, but both Pindar and Bacchylides were already working to monumentalize Hieron's epinician culture.

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[105] Cingano 2003: 36–41; Budelmann 2012: 176–178.

[106] As Maehler 2004: 253 comments, "the τε in line 10 shows that *two* victories of Hieron's famous racehorse Pherenikos are referred to here."

Ode 3

In 468 Hieron finally achieved a chariot victory at Olympia and chose Bacchylides to celebrate it. I do not know why Pindar did not compose for this victory (unless one chooses to align oneself with those who connect *Pythian* 2 or *Pythian* 3 to this victory), and speculation would be pointless. Bacchylides' ode opens with an invocation to the Muse Kleo to hymn Demeter and Kore along with Hieron's horses, which have triumphed by the Alpheos and brought crowns to Hieron (1–8). The end of the first triad brings us the shouts of the crowd acclaiming Hieron: he is thrice blessed, has been given rule by Zeus, and knows how to use his wealth wisely (9–14). The litany of his blessings continues in the second triad: the temples are full of sacrifice, the streets of hospitality, and the golden tripods set up at Delphi glitter in front of the temple (15–19).

The gnomic observation that glorifying god is the best prosperity forms a transition to the myth of Kroisos, King of Lydia. Apollo protected him when the Persians took Sardis (23–29). Kroisos was determined not to endure slavery but built a pyre on which he set both himself and his wife and daughters. He reproaches Apollo for ingratitude: his house, the house of Alyattes, has fallen; the Pactolus runs red with blood; women are led away from their homes. Death is preferable to this, and so he commands that the pyre be lit (35–49). Zeus, however, quenches the flames with a rainstorm, and Apollo transports Kroisos and his daughters to the land of the Hyperboreans, because he sent the most gifts to Delphi (55–62). Hieron, on the other hand, has sent more gifts than any other Greek and will be praised by those who are not jealous: he is a warrior, is a lover of horses, wields the scepter of Zeus, and also partakes of the arts of the Muses (63–71). The sixth triad closes with more gnomic reflection. Life is short, and we should recall the advice addressed by Apollo to his favorite Admetos: a mortal should live with two attitudes, believing both that the next day will be his last and that he will live another fifty years in prosperity. One should cheer one's spirit by performing holy acts; this is the greatest profit (74–84). The final triad (85–98) has the poet speaking things that will be understood by a man of sense. The air cannot be defiled. The sea cannot rot. Gold is a joy. A man cannot bring back his lost youth, but the light of excellence does not diminish as the body ages; instead, the Muse nurtures it. Hieron, again addressed directly, has displayed the fairest flowers of prosperity. Silence is not becoming to achievement, and because of the "nightingale of Keos" Hieron's noble deeds will be truthfully remembered.

I shall concentrate here on Bacchylides' contextualization of Hieron in a Sicilian, Delphic, and panhellenic context, on the links between Hieron and the mythico-historical exemplar of the ode, Kroisos, and on the culminating picture of Hieron as king at the end of the ode. Bacchylides 5 set Hieron against a general background of mortality; this ode pays tribute to him as an exceptional mortal and makes him at home in a world of wealthy eastern kingship. The opening invocation to Demeter and Persephone as rulers of fertile Sicily hymns the goddesses in parallel with Hieron's victorious horses. This is a subtle beginning, with Hieron introduced as the horses' owner and given his crown at the end of the first antistrophe. We are not told that he inhabits Syracuse or the city of Aitna; we are not, in fact, told that he lives in a particular city. We *are* told that the two goddesses rule Sicily, so Hieron is juxtaposed to their dominance and fertility. This juxtaposition becomes even more pointed when we remember that Hieron is the hereditary priest of the goddesses. Since Hieron's geographic scope is not specified, he can participate in the aura of generalized Sicilian rule generated by the goddesses whose priest he is. We may well recall Hieron's wielding of the scepter of justice in a Sicilian pastoral paradise sketched by Pindar at *O*. 1.12–13. The idea of fertility will be taken up again in lines 15 and 16, where the temples "teem" with sacrifice, and the streets with hospitality, as a result of Hieron's activity. The verb used there, *bruō*, carries with it an idea of exuberant vegetation that corresponds to the description of Sicily as *aristokarpou* ("bearing fairest fruit") in line 1.[107] The fertility of Sicily is a counterpart to Hieron's teeming prosperity.[108] The latter comes about because of divine favor, generated (doubtless!) through Hieron's priesthood of Demeter and Persephone but also though his special relationship with Apollo.

If we were in any doubt about Hieron's status, this is dispelled in the first epode, which purports to reproduce the shout of the crowd: "Ah, thrice happy man, who has been allotted by Zeus the prerogative of greatest rule among the Greeks, and knows not to hide his towering wealth in black-shrouded darkness!" (3.10–14)[109] Here we learn three crucial pieces of information: that Hieron is generous, he is favored by Zeus, and this favor consists in exceptional rule. The adjective *pleistarchon* (line

[107] Cairns 2010: 64, 71. For the connection with Demeter and Persephone, see Tarditi 1989: 277–278.

[108] Péron 1978: 326.

[109] Hutchinson 2001: 333 observes that there is no obvious place for the speech or the crowd to stop, and therefore he has the narrator speak line 10 (although perhaps reflecting the emotion of the crowd). I agree with Cairns 2010: 199–200 that the merging of the poetic voice with that of a larger group is deliberate and significant.

12) cannot be pushed for specifics,[110] but it certainly places Hieron in the orbit of Zeus-nurtured kings (by now a familiar motif) and may even resonate forward to Herodotus' account of the Greek embassy to Gelon in his Book 7 (see chapter 2), where Gelon connects his right to command with the number of troops and amount of support he can provide.[111] The lines that follow illustrate the *makarismos* by referring to the festivals and hospitality of Hieron, and the golden tripods that shine before the temple at Delphi. These tripods must be the dedications of Gelon and Hieron on the east temple terrace (see Chapter 2 and Figs. 2.1 and 2.2). Bacchylides is not interested in accurately recording which brother made which dedication; rather, the audience gains the impression that all the tripods were dedicated by Hieron.[112] But who is making these comments? Does the shout of the crowd end at line 14 (if, in fact, it reaches that far)? Commentators worry that it would be inappropriate for Olympic spectators to comment on Delphic dedications and make relatively calm statements about wealth and generosity, but as Carey has suggested, "the point here is not the indeterminacy of the point of transition but the specific effect. The poet's views merge with those of the quoted speakers, leaving unclear the point where external authority ends and the poet's authority begins."[113] Bacchylides makes himself crystallize the voice of the spectators, so that he speaks not just for himself but for all, and from a specifically panhellenic perspective. We have already seen how fr. 20C.13–14 evokes the celebration of maidens and others at Olympia for Pherenikos' past victories. Now the crowd at Olympia shouts in greater detail, and they and the poet can generalize the significance of the achievement both gnomically (Hieron knows not to hide his wealth) and otherwise. If we can imagine a mass of people thinking that Hieron has a prerogative of greatest rule, this does much to project Hieron's Zeus-supported monarchy as a panhellenic commonplace. When the talk is of countless festivals in the sanctuaries of the gods and of Hieron's hospitality, we are doubtless to assume that these festivities are taking place in Syracuse (as many commentators instruct us). Yet because

[110] Hutchinson 2001: 333–334.

[111] Suggested to me by Virginia Lewis.

[112] Gentili 1953: 199–203 thinks that Bacchylides' plural tripods refer not to Gelon's and Hieron's dedications, but to additional tripods dedicated nearby for his brothers by Hieron. It seems to me more likely that Bacchylides' imprecision is designed to appropriate the whole monument for Hieron (so too Cummins 2010b: 15–16).

[113] Carey 1999: 20; Maehler 2004: 88; Cairns 2010: 199–200. Cf. Kurke 1999: 136 "the poem allows us to hear its entire length as the admiring shout of a Greek crowd." Burnett 1985: 67–68 admits some indeterminacy, making the words of lines 11–14 a choral extrapolation of the cries of the Olympic spectators.

the name of the city of Syracuse has been carefully omitted from the ode so far, and because of the indeterminacy of the acclaiming voice, we are also encouraged to generalize the celebration (this is a rhetorical move, even if we find panhellenic awe at Hieron's success implausible).

The introduction of Kroisos of Lydia as the quasi-mythological focus of the ode is apposite for more than one reason. First of all, it expands Pindar's observation at the end of *Pythian* 1 that the kindly excellence of Kroisos does not perish. Pindar meant that the king's regal virtue would be remembered forever, thanks to song and story. Bacchylides' ode certainly exemplifies this prediction. It also wittily uses a particular version of the Kroisos story to make Pindar's observation literal: because of his piety and generosity the king of Lydia actually does not die. This is only the culmination of a most suitable *curriculum vitae*. We learn in line 23 that Lydia is horse taming (a connection there with Hieron's hippic victory), and in 24 that Kroisos was an *archagetan*. This last can mean "ruler" generally, but it is particularly appropriate to founder-rulers (like Hieron) and was a title of Apollo.[114] The body of the mythical narrative tells how he was saved by Apollo and Zeus. Apollo settled him in the land of the Hyperboreans because he made the greatest dedications to Delphi, and here the comparison with Hieron is explicit (61–66): Kroisos sent more than any other mortal, but among Greeks Hieron holds first place. This is a fascinating ranking, particularly when we combine it with information preserved in Athenaeus (6.231e–232c) reporting that Phainias of Eresos and Theopompus stated that "the Pythian sanctuary was adorned by Gyges, and Kroisos after him, and after them by Gelon and Hieron of Sicily." Giovanni Tarditi concluded that this dedicatory genealogy was created by the priests at Delphi in order to flatter the Deinomenids, and this was taken further by Nino Luraghi, who rightly sees here (and in *Pythian* 1) a desire by Hieron's poets to juxtapose Kroisos and Hieron as specifically monarchical figures.[115]

Delphic flattery for a generous donor and Hieron's own readiness—even desire—to be compared to an eastern potentate are not mutually exclusive options. We must parse carefully, however, the complexities of the comparison. In discussing the end of *Pythian* 1, I speculated that part of Kroisos' appeal as an exemplum might have been that he was developing into a figure of resistance to Persia. A famous amphora by Myson in the Louvre (*ARV*^{2} 238.1), to be dated to approximately 490–470, shows a composed Kroisos making a libation on a pyre that is just about to be

[114] Hutchinson 2001: 338.
[115] Tarditi 1989: 280–281; Luraghi in Stazio and Ceccoli 1992: 217–218.

set alight, and it is possible that the vase may be read as an expression of sympathy for a philhellenic king who had suffered at the hands of the Persians.[116] Bacchylides 3 is explicit that Kroisos decided to immolate himself and his family because he was not going to wait for "lamentable slavery" (29–31). The Persians are not mentioned elsewhere in the ode, and much depends on how much context we are willing to import, but we can at a minimum say that Kroisos is represented as a king who rejected slavery and behaved piously toward Greek gods. This may be meaningful in light of Hieron's success in *Pythian* 1 in saving Greece from slavery.

How far should we push the parallels between Hieron and Kroisos? We could be fairly straightforward and say that, just as Kroisos sent dedications to Delphi and was loved by the gods, so Hieron receives divine benefaction for his gifts to Apollo. In the case of Kroisos the reward is preservation in the face of death and eternal life in the land of the Hyperboreans. In the case of Hieron, the reward is Olympic victory, eternal fame, and (depending on one's religious optimism) possibly release from death or a form of blessed afterlife.[117] On this reading, the parallels are unproblematically positive. It is possible, however, to take a more complicated view of the relationship. Was Kroisos right to despair and take his fate into his own hands? How complimentary is a comparison with a king defeated by the Persians?[118] Even if we find an insistence that Kroisos should have had faith in the gods unsatisfactory,[119] we may still feel some discomfort at a suicidal monarch, and this discomfort is only somewhat diminished by the reflection that Hieron was already ill with the sickness that would shortly cause his death (a circumstance often thought to justify a somewhat somber tone).

We may add to this that self-immolation in the face of defeat had been enjoying some popularity in the previous few years. One explanation for the disappearance of the Carthaginian commander Hamilkar at the Battle of Himera was that he cast himself into a sacrificial fire when he saw that the battle was lost (Hdt. 7.166–167). More recently (476–75), the Persian Boges, besieged by Kimon at Eion, killed the members of his household and burnt both them and himself on a vast pyre when the city ran out

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[116] Boardman 1982: 15–16.

[117] Tarditi 1989: 281; Reichel 2000: 150–151; Currie 2005: 366–367, 381–382, 386–387; Cairns 2010: 73–74. In the interpretation of Burnett 1985: 71 Kroisos' attempt at suicide is itself a kind of sacrificial offering.

[118] Péron 1978: 332.

[119] For Lamedica 1987: 148–150, Kroisos' lack of faith makes him an imperfect model; cf. Brannan 1971: 131–132.

of provisions (Hdt. 7.107).[120] Boges and Hamilkar are again non-Greek commanders, but this time they are aligned with the forces that sought to defeat the Greeks in Sicily and on the mainland. Their actions were certainly brave, and for Herodotus admirable, but they may also have seemed extravagant. Self-immolation may be an expression of noble resistance, but Hieron is being exhorted to a quieter resignation and confidence. This is where the secondary example of Admetos comes in.[121] Apollo's advice to him was that a mortal should believe both that the next day will be his last and that he will live another fifty years (75–84). This double vision of the future corresponds to the advice given by Pindar toward the end of *Pythian* 3, to realize that life is full of vicissitudes and that prosperity is never safe. Security is achieved, to the extent it can be, by the fame that comes through song and by a positive relationship with the gods.

Perhaps, then, the figure of Hieron is simultaneously drawn into and distanced from the Lydian orbit. Like Kroisos he is a pious monarch loved by the gods, but unlike Kroisos he is Greek, and thus he knows lessons about vicissitude and prosperity that were never understood by the Lydian (φρονέοντι συνετὰ γαρύω, "I say things that are understood by the wise man," 85). He has not been defeated by the Persians, like Kroisos, and he stands on the other side of the equation from Hamilkar (and was in fact part of the team that defeated him). In this context, it is no bad thing that he has only sent the most gifts to Delphi of any Greek and has failed to match Kroisos' achievements in this area. We might see him as a mediating figure between the extravagances and dangers of eastern monarchy and the more temperate Greek situation.[122] He stands at the peak of Greek achievement, and his generosity toward the gods makes him analogous to an oriental potentate. He may expect to receive benefaction from the gods in return, like Kroisos, but because of his virtue and his understanding he will not, like Kroisos, know the bitterness of defeat.

After the close of the Kroisos narrative and the quasi-superlative vaunt on dedications, the ode swiftly recontextualizes Hieron by rejecting envy and by summarizing his headline qualities, all of them by now familiar: he is a lover of horses, a man of Ares, one who holds the scepter of Zeus, and has a portion of the Muses (67–71). This is the closest Bacchylides ever comes to calling Hieron a king; he is much more conservative than Pindar

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120. Tarditi 1989: 280; cf. Duplouy 2000: 24.

121. Lamedica 1987: 150–151.

122. For Kurke also (1999: 134–135) Kroisos is a mediating figure between Greek and non-Greek, although in a slightly different sense.

on this front. The latter, as we have seen, calls Hieron both king (*basileus*) and by implication tyrant (*tyrannos*), whereas Bacchylides has called him only "general" (*stratēgos*, Bacch 5.2), even tailoring his Hesiodic reference at the end of his fifth ode to fit Hieron as an everyman rather than a monarch (see Chapter 6). Pindar has twice referred to Hieron's scepter (*O*. 1.12, *O*. 6.93) and at *Pythian* 1.6 mentions the scepter of Zeus with which, as we learn during the ode, Hieron's own rule is closely aligned. The exploration of the qualities of Hieron's rule has been a major focus for Pindar in *Pythian* 1 and elsewhere. Bacchylides' reference to the scepter of Zeus here should be associated with the same program of presenting a just and divinely guaranteed monarchy, even if he never uses the word *basileus*. Describing Hieron as "just ruler of the city" (*astuthemin*, Bacch. 4.3) and speaking of his "straight-judging mind" (*euthudikon*, Bacch. 5.6) subserves the same goal.[123]

The final triad of the ode has often reminded readers of the opening of Pindar's *Olympian* 1, although most modern criticism sees this as a sophisticated manipulation of similar topoi rather than a needy attempt to best Pindar.[124] The aether cannot be defiled; the sea does not rot; gold is joy. Man cannot lay aside old age and regain youth, but the Muse nurtures the light of excellence. This cryptic sequence seems both to conjure gold as immune to decay (implicitly) and push the need for it to be transformed into epinician celebration.[125] Joy (*euphrosuna*) is both the joy of the feast and a term for the victory celebration, and the gold with which it is identical is the gold that Hieron has expended at Delphi and in Sicily for monumental and epinician commemoration.[126] The poem ends by combining wealth, radiance, religious dedication, and poetry and characterizing them as the "fairest flowers of prosperity" (92–94, a return to the fertility motif of the beginning of the ode). The constructor of this complex nexus is the "Kean nightingale" of the final line, one sure enough of his talents that (even if no longer an eagle) he makes the capacity of his song to represent truly Hieron's achievements the final thought of the poem.

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[123] Hutchinson 2001: 349–350; Cairns 2010: 200–201, 209.
[124] See e.g., Cairns 2010: 211–213.
[125] Carson 1984: 112–113, 117–118; cf. Carey 1977–1978.
[126] Maehler 1982: II.55; Carson 1984: 117; Cairns 2010: 212–213.

CHAPTER 9 | Henchmen (*Nemean* 9, *Nemean* 1, *Olympian* 6)

Introduction

This final chapter explores how Hieron's monarchy is and is not reflected in the three odes written for his associates: *Nemeans* 1 and 9 for Chromios (Hieron's brother-in-law and regent of Aitna), and *Olympian* 6 for Hagesias (who may have been Hieron's seer and seems to have been a person of some significance at court).[1] My readings will not attempt to elucidate every interesting aspect of these poems but will rather contextualize them against the four preserved Hieron odes and against each other. Hieron is mentioned explicitly in only one ode (*O*. 6), but he is a shadowy presence behind the two *Nemeans* for Chromios. In some ways, these poems can be grouped with Pindar's many epinicians for aristocrats, where a major concern is to locate the object of praise safely within a larger polis context. We cannot, however, forget that in the case of Chromios and Hagesias, the larger context was the Syracuse and Aitna of Hieron. What happens when we read them against a (general) Sicilian and (specific) Syracusan context? We shall see that issues of migration, faction, and royal authority have an interesting part to play, and that praise of Hagesias and Chromios is carefully constructed so as to acknowledge their subordination to Hieron. At the same time, in the case of Chromios we see intimations that his position of influence makes him analogous to, though lesser than, Hieron.

None of these odes can be precisely dated, and there has been much controversy over their relative ordering. It seems most likely that all

[1] Schol. *O*. 6.30c. See further the discussion below.

three were written after the foundation of Aitna in 476. This is certain for *Nemean* 9, where the second line speaks of the arrival of *kōmos* at "newly founded" Aitna, and probable for *Nemean* 1 and *Olympian* 6, since the former says that the hymn has been written for the sake of "Zeus of Aitna" (*N.* 1.6) and the latter tells of Hieron's devotion to the power of "Zeus of Aitna" (*O.* 6.96). The *terminus ante quem* must be Hieron's death in 468–67, which gives slightly less than a decade's latitude. Can this be narrowed down further? Not in the case of *Olympian* 6, but *Nemean* 9.34 speaks of Chromios' military exploits "amidst the shouting of foot soldiers, among the horses, and on ship," while line 43 promises future narrations of his maritime deeds. These references to sea battles work best with a date of composition after the naval battle of Kumai in 474. There was no naval engagement with the Carthaginians at the Battle of Himera in 480, so there can no allusion to this famous struggle.[2] If this reasoning is valid, then *Nemean* 9 belongs between 474 and 468.

Does *Nemean* 1 come before or after it? The Nemean Games were held in 475, 473, 471, and 469, and theoretically the ode could celebrate victory in any of these festivals. Like *Nemean* 9, it refers to no other athletic victories. We might expect that if Chromios won a chariot victory at a panhellenic festival such as Nemea, it would be mentioned in *Nemean* 9, which commemorates a victory in the Pythia festival at Sikyon, a less prestigious triumph.[3] It would be, however, less surprising if *Nemean* 1 failed to mention a nonpanhellenic victory. This may indicate that Braswell was right to place *Nemean* 1 after *Nemean* 9. Other potential criteria provide even less certainty. Does the reference to Syracuse and Ortygia at the beginning of *Nemean* 1 mean that Chromios has not yet moved to Aitna to take up the regency there for Hieron's son? Or does the stress on Herakles' Olympian reward for a lifetime of toil at the end of the ode indicate that Chromios has now withdrawn from politics and is living a happy retirement in Syracuse?[4] Although I believe on balance that *Nemean* 9 precedes *Nemean* 1, my focus here will be less on nailing down chronology than on investigating the very different tones and approaches of the two poems. As

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[2] As Braswell (1998: 114 and 129–130) comments. Braswell sees the references to sea battles as generic and denies any particular connection with Kumai in these passages, yet the double mention of sea battles, taken together with specific allusions to the Battle of Heloros (40), makes it likely that an ancient audience would have thought of Kumai. For Carey 1981: 104 the allusion to Kumai is (rightly) unproblematic.

[3] Braswell 1992: 26.

[4] For the former, see Carey 1981: 104; for the latter Braswell 1992: 26, followed by Morrison 2007: 23–24.

we shall see, *Nemean* 9 is politicized and historically embedded, whereas *Nemean* 1 is more generalizing and directed toward the realization of a moment of rest and festivity after toil. This may of course reflect differing levels of political engagement and provide dating guidance, but it may also correlate with a different political purpose.

Olympian 6 must belong either in 472 or 468, just before Hieron's death.[5] Parallels with *Nemean* 1, to which we shall return, may indicate that composition of the one was not too distant from that of the other, but once again, certainty is impossible. If 468 is correct, an interesting corollary is that Hagesias' victory with the mule team would have come at the same Olympics as Hieron's long-desired chariot triumph. Hieron's reception of Hagesias' revel in the last triad would then be the reception of one Olympic victor by another. This would give particular resonance also to lines 75–76, where the poet talks of the envy that attends those who "drive in first place around the twelfth circuit of the course." As Hutchinson has pointed out, this wording "unobtrusively assimilates the mule-cart to four horse chariots"[6] and would draw the two victories together. *Olympian* 6, as noted, is the only one of these odes to invoke Hieron as a figure of kingly authority, and so the political flavor of the ode again differs from either of the *Nemeans* studied here. These three poems, then, represent a varied range of responses to the achievements of elite Syracusans other than Hieron himself, and this remains true no matter what their dates or chronological order. I shall examine them here in what I presume to be their order of composition, but the value of my conclusions should be independent of any more precise dating than the terminus provided by the foundation of Aitna.

Nemean 9

Α′ Κωμάσομεν παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος Σικυωνόθε, Μοῖσαι,
τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν, ἔνθ' ἀναπεπταμέναι
ξείνων νενίκανται θύραι,
ὄλβιον ἐς Χρομίου
δῶμ'. ἀλλ' ἐπέων γλυκὺν ὕμνον πράσσετε.
τὸ κρατήσιππον γὰρ ἐς ἅρμ' ἀναβαίνων
ματέρι καὶ διδύμοις παίδεσσιν αὐδὰν μανύει
Πυθῶνος αἰπεινᾶς ὁμοκλάροις ἐπόπταις. (5)

[5] See Luraghi 1997: 74 for the (faint) possibility that it may belong in 476.
[6] Hutchinson 2001: 408; Nicholson 2005: 83–89.

Β′ ἔστι δέ τις λόγος ἀνθρώπων, τετελεσμένον ἐσλόν
μὴ χαμαὶ σιγᾷ καλύψαι· θεσπεσία δ’ ἐπέων
καύχας ἀοιδὰ πρόσφορος.
ἀλλ’ ἀνὰ μὲν βρομίαν
φόρμιγγ’, ἀνὰ δ’ αὐλὸν ἐπ’ αὐτὰν ὄρσομεν
ἱππίων ἀέθλων κορυφάν, ἅ τε Φοίβῳ
θῆκεν Ἄδραστος ἐπ’ Ἀσωποῦ ῥεέθροις· ὧν ἐγώ
μνασθεὶς ἐπασκήσω κλυταῖς ἥρωα τιμαῖς. (10)

Γ′ ὃς τότε μὲν βασιλεύων κεῖθι νέαισί θ’ ἑορταῖς
ἰσχύος τ’ ἀνδρῶν ἀμίλλαις ἅρμασί τε γλαφυροῖς
ἄμφαινε κυδαίνων πόλιν.
φεῦγε γὰρ Ἀμφιαρῆ
ποτε θρασυμήδεα καὶ δεινὰν στάσιν
πατρίων οἴκων ἀπό τ’ Ἄργεος· ἀρχοὶ
δ’ οὐκ ἔτ’ ἔσαν Ταλαοῦ παῖδες, βιασθέντες λύᾳ.
κρέσσων δὲ καππαύει δίκαν τὰν πρόσθεν ἀνήρ. (15)

Δ′ ἀνδροδάμαντ’ Ἐριφύλαν, ὅρκιον ὡς ὅτε πιστόν,
δόντες Οἰκλείδᾳ γυναῖκα, ξανθοκομᾶν Δαναῶν
ἦσαν μέγιστοι <–⏑–>
καί ποτ’ ἐς ἑπταπύλους
Θήβας ἄγαγον στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν αἰσιᾶν
οὐ κατ’ ὀρνίχων ὁδόν· οὐδὲ Κρονίων
ἀστεροπὰν ἐλελίξαις οἴκοθεν μαργουμένους
στείχειν ἐπώτρυν’, ἀλλὰ φείσασθαι κελεύθου. (20)

Ε′ φαινομέναν δ’ ἄρ’ ἐς ἅταν σπεῦδεν ὅμιλος ἱκέσθαι
χαλκέοις ὅπλοισιν ἱππείοις τε σὺν ἔντεσιν· Ἰσ-
μηνοῦ δ’ ἐπ’ ὄχθαισι γλυκύν
νόστον ἐρεισάμενοι
λευκανθέα σώμασι πίαναν καπνόν·
ἑπτὰ γὰρ δαίσαντο πυραὶ νεογυίους
φῶτας· ὁ δ’ Ἀμφιαρεῖ σχίσσεν κεραυνῷ παμβίᾳ
Ζεὺς τὰν βαθύστερνον χθόνα, κρύψεν δ’ ἅμ’ ἵπποις, (25)

Ϝ′ δουρὶ Περικλυμένου πρὶν νῶτα τυπέντα μαχατάν
θυμὸν αἰσχυνθῆμεν. ἐν γὰρ δαιμονίοισι φόβοις
φεύγοντι καὶ παῖδες θεῶν.
εἰ δυνατόν, Κρονίων,

πεῖραν μὲν ἀγάνορα Φοινικοστόλων
ἐγχέων ταύταν θανάτου πέρι καὶ ζω-
ᾶς ἀναβάλλομαι ὡς πόρσιστα, μοῖραν δ' εὔνομον
αἰτέω σε παισὶν δαρὸν Αἰτναίων ὀπάζειν,

Ζ′ Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀγλαΐαισιν δ' ἀστυνόμοις ἐπιμεῖξαι
λαόν. ἐντί τοι φίλιπποί τ' αὐτόθι καὶ κτεάνων
ψυχὰς ἔχοντες κρέσσονας
ἄνδρες. ἄπιστον ἔειπ'·
αἰδὼς γὰρ ὑπὸ κρύφα κέρδει κλέπτεται,
ἃ φέρει δόξαν. Χρομίῳ κεν ὑπασπί-
ζων παρὰ πεζοβόαις ἵπποις τε ναῶν τ' ἐν μάχαις
ἔκρινας, ἂν κίνδυνον ὀξείας ἀυτᾶς,

Η′ οὕνεκεν ἐν πολέμῳ κείνα θεὸς ἔντυεν αὐτοῦ
θυμὸν αἰχματὰν ἀμύνειν λοιγὸν Ἐνυαλίου.
παῦροι δὲ βουλεῦσαι φόνου
παρποδίου νεφέλαν
τρέψαι ποτὶ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν στίχας
χερσὶ καὶ ψυχᾷ δυνατοί· λέγεται μὰν
Ἕκτορι μὲν κλέος ἀνθῆσαι Σκαμάνδρου χεύμασιν
ἀγχοῦ, βαθυκρήμνοισι δ' ἀμφ' ἀκταῖς Ἑλώρου,

Θ′ ἔνθ' Ἀρείας πόρον ἄνθρωποι καλέοισι, δέδορκεν
παιδὶ τοῦθ' Ἀγησιδάμου φέγγος ἐν ἁλικίᾳ
πρώτᾳ· τὰ δ' ἄλλαις ἀμέραις
πολλὰ μὲν ἐν κονίᾳ
χέρσῳ, τὰ δὲ γείτονι πόντῳ φάσομαι.
ἐκ πόνων δ', οἳ σὺν νεότατι γένωνται
σύν τε δίκᾳ, τελέθει πρὸς γῆρας αἰὼν ἡμέρα.
ἵστω λαχὼν πρὸς δαιμόνων θαυμαστὸν ὄλβον.

Ι′ εἰ γὰρ ἅμα κτεάνοις πολλοῖς ἐπίδοξον ἄρηται
κῦδος, οὐκ ἔστι πρόσωθεν θνατὸν ἔτι σκοπιᾶς
ἄλλας ἐφάψασθαι ποδοῖν.
ἡσυχία δὲ φιλεῖ
μὲν συμπόσιον· νεοθαλὴς δ' αὔξεται
μαλθακᾷ νικαφορία σὺν ἀοιδᾷ·
θαρσαλέα δὲ παρὰ κρατῆρα φωνὰ γίνεται.
ἐγκιρνάτω τίς νιν, γλυκὺν κώμου προφάταν,

ΙΑ′ ἀργυρέαισι δὲ νωμάτω φιάλαισι βιατάν
ἀμπέλου παῖδ’, ἅς ποθ’ ἵπποι κτησάμεναι Χρομίῳ
πέμψαν θεμιπλέκτοις ἁμᾶ
Λατοΐδα στεφάνοις
ἐκ τᾶς ἱερᾶς Σικυῶνος. Ζεῦ πάτερ,
εὔχομαι ταύταν ἀρετὰν κελαδῆσαι
σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν, ὑπὲρ πολλῶν τε τιμαλφεῖν λόγοις
νίκαν, ἀκοντίζων σκοποῖ’ ἄγχιστα Μοισᾶν. (55)

Α′ Let us take the revel, Muses, from the sanctuary of
Apollo at Sikyon
to Aitna, newly-founded, where the doors
have been thrown open and yield to his guests
at Chromios’ blissful house. Compose a sweet hymn in verse,
for he has mounted his chariot with its victorious horses
and signals a song for the mother and her twin children
who take equal shares in watching over the steeps of Pytho. (5)

Β′ There is a saying among men, when a noble deed
has been brought to completion
not to conceal it silently on the ground, but a
divine song of vaunting in verse is fitting.
Let us rouse the thundering *phorminx*,
rouse the pipes for the very summit
of hippic competition, which Adrastos
instituted for Phoibos by the streams of the Asopos.
Remembering them I shall exalt the hero with
renowned honors. (10)

Γ′ Who, when he was king there at that time, through new festivals
with contests of manly strength and polished chariots
made the city blaze with glory.
For he had fled Amphiaraos
with his bold contrivances, and dreaded faction,
away from his ancestral home, away from Argos,
and the children of Talaos, forced out by sedition,
were no longer rulers;
the stronger man puts an end to the right
that came before. (15)

Δ′ Man-slaying Eriphyle, like a trusty pledge,
they gave to the son of Oikles as wife,

and were the greatest of the fair-haired Danaans . . .
and once led to seven-gated Thebes a host of men
along a road not governed by favorable omens,
nor was the son of Kronos, by whirling the lightning bolt
when they were eager to set out from home,
urging them to proceed, but rather to draw back from
the journey.

E′ The throng, then, hastened to arrive at evident ruin
with their bronze weapons and horse tackle,
and on the banks of the Ismenos
they fixed their homecoming
and fattened the smoke into white blossoms
with their corpses,
for seven pyres feasted upon the limbs of young men,
but for Amphiaraos Zeus with his all-powerful lightning
split the deep bosom of the earth,
and hid him along with his horses,

F′ before he was struck in the back by the spear of Periklymenos
and his fighter's spirit disgraced. Even the children of the gods
flee when fear has a divine origin.
If it is possible, son of Kronos,
such a bold trial by the spears of the Phoenician expedition,
a trial of life and death, I put away as far as possible
and I ask you to grant to the children of the Aitna's folk
a long portion of good government,

Z′ Father Zeus, and to make the people share in public festivals.
The men there are lovers of horses
and have souls superior to possessions.
I have said an incredible thing,
for Respect is secretly deceived by the desire for gain,
Respect which brings fame. Chromios you could have judged
if you stood as his shield-bearer amidst the shouting
of foot soldiers, among the horses, and on ship,
during the danger of the shrill battle cry:

H′ that in war that goddess urged on
his spearman's spirit to ward off the plague of Enyalios.
Few men are capable of planning how
to turn aside the cloud of slaughter at their feet

towards the ranks of enemies who mean ill,
using their hands and soul. Indeed, it is said that
Hektor's fame flowered by the streams of Skamander,
and at the steep banks of the Heloros,

Θ′ the place that men call the crossing of Areia, there shone upon
the child of Hagesidamos this light in his first youth.
On other days
I shall speak of his many exploits on the dusty land
and on the neighboring sea.
After the toils that take place in youth,
aided by justice, one's lifetime ends up
gentle towards old age.
Let him know that he has been allotted by the gods
marvellous prosperity.

I′ For even if along with many possessions, he wins glorious
fame, it is not possible for a mortal to touch his feet
still further along another cliff.
Peace loves the symposium,
and newly-blooming victory
is augmented with gentle song.
The voice becomes bold by the mixing bowl;
let someone stir it up, the sweet spokesman of the revel,

IA′ and let him dispense in silver drinking cups the mighty
child of the vine, the cups which once his horses won
and sent to Chromios along with rightly-woven
garlands of the child of Leto
from holy Sikyon. Father Zeus,
I pray to sing this deed of excellence
with the help of the Graces, and on behalf of many
to honour in words his victory,
casting my javelin nearest to the target of the Muses.

The ode conceives itself as moving from the sanctuary of Apollo in Sikyon, where Chromios has won a victory in the chariot race, to Chromios' house in Aitna. After acknowledging the need to celebrate this victory in song, the poet resolves to celebrate the founder of these games, Adrastos. Adrastos was expelled from Argos by Amphiaraos during civil strife and founded the games during his exile in Sikyon. He

was reconciled with Amphiaraos when they contracted a marriage alliance: Amphiaraos married Eriphyle, Adrastos' sister. Some time afterwards followed the unfortunate episode of the Seven against Thebes, which Adrastos prosecuted despite unfavorable omens. When the attack ended in defeat, Amphiaraos was swallowed up along with his chariot by the earth, which Zeus opened with a thunderbolt so that Amphiaraos would not suffer the disgrace of being speared in the back. Here the myth ends, and we return to the present with a prayer that Zeus put off a Phoenician attack and grant good government to the Aitnaians. After complimenting the Aitnaians for their superior souls, Pindar concentrates on Chromios and his martial prowess on land and sea. He is one of the few men who can turn the tide of a battle through strength and intelligence, and he is compared to Hektor: just as Hektor's fame flowered by the river Skamander, so did Chromios' by the river Heloros in his first youth. Further narratives of his exploits are put off for the future, and the ode draws to a close with praise of his prosperity, a warning that he has reached the furthest limit of achievement, the evocation of a peaceful symposium, and a final prayer to Zeus.

Since the ode is not composed in triads, it is attractive to think of it as a processional song matching the movement of the revel (*kōmos*) it evokes. The *kōmos* summoned by the poet, however, is more significant than any earthly counterpart; it includes the Muses and travels not merely within the town but all the way from the Peloponnese to Sicily. Chromios' house is the focus of this movement, and (not unlike Hieron's palace in *Olympian* 1) it is a house of hospitality. In a striking metaphor, we learn that the doors have, literally, been conquered by the press of guests (*nenikantai,* 2), but as the remainder of the poem will show, this is the only form of defeat that threatens Chromios. Neither here nor in the lines that follow, demanding praise for his victory, is there any indication that Chromios enjoys any special civic status. The question of how to read Chromios' position within Aitna looms large in the interpretation of this ode. We know from a fragment of Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566 F21) that Chromios was connected to the Deinomenids through marriage to Gelon's (and thus Hieron's) sister, and from a scholiast (*N.* 9 *inscr.*) that he was regent (*epitropos*) in the new city of Aitna for Hieron. As we shall see, several aspects of the ode fit well with the presumption that Chromios was politically influential (even regent) in Aitna when the ode was composed. Yet when assessing Pindar's presentation of Chromios, one scholar can write that the poem "places him in a political context, as ruler and especially as general" while for another Chromios is more modestly represented as exemplary of the virtues of the

citizens.[7] The tension between these two readings is symptomatic of a real gap between historical context and poetic rhetoric. Rather than deny the gap, we must investigate why the praises of Chromios would not sound out of place if applied to a Theban aristocrat. The answer will be found to lie in Chromios' position as mediator between Hieron's sovereign power and the larger group of citizens.

We can begin our deeper consideration of this issue by investigating how the myth in the ode is meant to relate to Chromios. The springboard for the myth is the foundation of the Sikyonian Pythia by Adrastos, and the ostensible connection to the present underlined at the end of the mythical narrative is the rejection of the Adrastos-related story as a model for Aitna's future: the poet prays that "such a bold trial of life and death" through a Phoenician expedition be delayed (28–30).[8] The myth had presented an ill-omened expedition and the resultant multiple funeral pyres "feasting" on young men—clearly an eventuality that any city would wish to avoid. The potential for strife is projected onto conflict with a foreign and very real enemy. Yet the details of the narrative are difficult to match with so unproblematic a scenario. The story of Adrastos and Amphiaraos is one of civil strife and exile, solved partially by negotiation and marriage alliance but ultimately doomed to an unhappy ending by a further instance of strife and exile. Adrastos was in Sikyon (and thus in a position to found the Pythia) because he had been expelled from Argos by Amphiaraos in civil strife (*stasin*, 13). He was restored to power by giving his sister Eriphyle to Amphiaraos, as a "trusty pledge," although that match ended badly for Amphiaraos, since it was Eriphyle (entrusted with a tie-breaking vote in case of future disagreements between Amphiaraos and Adrastos) who was bribed by Polyneikes to agree with her brother rather than her husband and compel Amphiaraos to take part in the invasion of Thebes with the rest of the "Seven." This narrative trajectory makes problematic issues of family and civic loyalty, filled as it is with exile (of Adrastos in Sikyon, and more remotely Polyneikes in Argos) and betrayal (of Amphiaraos by his wife Eriphyle and of Polyneikes by his brother Eteokles). Matters are complicated further by a switch in focus in the middle of the narrative. Whereas Adrastos is central to its beginning, it is Amphiaraos who comes to the fore at its end and to whom the closing gnome applies. Zeus opens the ground to receive Amphiaraos as he flees and in order to spare him disgrace: "Even the children of the gods flee when fear has a divine origin."

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[7] Carey 1993: 106 and Braswell 1998: e.g., 108.

[8] For the translation of ταύταν here as "such," see Braswell 1998: 101.

This picture of faction and betrayal is plainly resonant in terms of Sicilian and even Syracusan internal politics. The Battle of Heloros, celebrated a few lines later, occurred when Hippokrates, Gelon's predecessor as tyrant of Gela, attempted to extend his power into eastern Sicily and take Syracuse, perhaps around 492 or 491 B.C. Even though he was victorious, he failed to take Syracuse thanks to intervention and arbitration on the part of Corinth, Syracuse's mother city (Hdt. 7.154, Diod. Sic. 10.28). As we saw in Chapter 2, when Gelon became tyrant he achieved by negotiation what Hippokrates had failed to achieve by force: the capitulation of Syracuse, where he established himself after the former ruling faction of the city invited him in (Hdt. 7.155). Chromios' actions at the Heloros, therefore, were by no means a stand against a Phoenician enemy, as one might first imagine on experiencing the flow of Pindar's poetry. Pindar moves from Argive faction to a feared Phoenician invasion, to the virtues of the Aitnaians (particularly Respect, *Aidōs*), to Chromios' military virtues and his early success at the Heloros. His prowess there is better contextualized in the world of mythological Argive and Theban faction than in resistance to the barbarian, even though the implicit references to Kumai discussed above make it certain that Chromios participated in Hieron's Phoenician campaigns (and probably fought at the Battle of Himera also). Is this "a minor bit of deception for encomiastic purposes?"[9] At one level, yes. But it is also more interesting than that, given the real connection of the Heloros with the faction thematics of the myth.

We might also remember that population movement was perceived, at least in the later fifth century, to be a particularly Sicilian characteristic. We recall Alcibiades' statement in Thucydides (6.17.2–3) quoted in Chapter 2: "Their cities have large populations of mixed multitudes; they easily change their citizens and receive new ones." It is not, then, that references to war with the Phoenicians are out of place, but that the poet chooses to focus on an exploit of Chromios that resonates differently for a knowledgeable audience. Exile because of faction was the issue that caused the Syracusan landowners to call on Gelon, and movement from one polis to another through faction, engineering of population, or attractive opportunities for advancement was, as we saw in Chapter 2, an important aspect of the Sicilian dynamic in the early years of the fifth century. The issue of the connection between external (Phoenician) threat and internal politics arose also in my examination of *Pythian* 1, and it is one we shall shortly consider.

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[9]Braswell 1998: 120–121.

If we return to Chromios himself, we see another parallel to the myth in the area of marriage alliance. Adrastos solved his problem with Amphiaraos and regained his power in Argos by marrying him to his sister (who acted as a "trusty pledge"). Chromios was married to Gelon's and Hieron's sister and was thus their brother-in-law. We do not need to engage in historical allegory to see a common link in the securing of power by dynastic marriage. Indeed, a related suggestion was previously made by Fraccaroli, who read Sicilian dynastic politics into the myth of *Nemean* 9 by connecting the myth with the complex web of intermarriage between the Deinomenids and Emmenids (see Chapter 2) and interpreting the disastrous expedition against Thebes as a plea on Pindar's part to avoid war between Syracuse and Akragas.[10] His attempt has been criticized on the grounds that "[t]he web of marriages and alliances . . . is so complicated . . . that it would be difficult to imagine a dynastic situation that failed to parallel it in one way or another."[11] Caution is certainly warranted, but Chromios' own involvement in the dynastic marriage game (rather than referring the marriage of Amphiaraos to Deinomenid-Emmenid alliances) makes the parallel more attractive. Certainly it is more appealing to keep interpretative focus on the relationship between Adrastos and Amphiaraos than to find the myth's relevance in the rebellion of Polyneikes against the rule of Eteokles. On that reading, the evocation of the myth of the Seven is meant to express both "a cautionary or pacifistic stance toward the prospect of renewed hostilities with Carthage" and an "endorsement of the monarchical status quo" (that is, an endorsement of Chromios' authoritative status within Aitna).[12] We shall be returning to the monarchical status quo, but the noticeable absence of Eteokles and Polyneikes from the myth makes it unlikely that their particular relationship is central to interpretation.

The parallel between Chromios-Hieron and Amphiaraos-Adrastos is seductively close, but we should beware of positing precise equivalences. For one thing, this would entail a troubling and probably undeserved equation of Chromios' wife with "man-slaying Eriphyle" and would likewise cast a shadow on the relationship between Chromios and Hieron. More important is the match between the myth and the general political climate of early-fifth-century Sicily, where rulers could rapidly be installed or go

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[10] Fraccaroli 1894: 614–616.

[11] Cole 1992: 118 n. 9. We should note also that it was a different marriage alliance, that between Anaxilas of Rhegion and Terillos of Himera, that led to the Carthaginian expedition against Himera when Terillos was expelled from the city (exile again!) by Theron of Akragas, and Anaxilas called on the Carthaginians to support him. The consequence was the Battle of Himera.

[12] Cole 1992: 114, 118 (quote), 120.

into exile, where today's enemy was tomorrow's ally, and where alliances were cemented through marriage. This climate is reflected in the rueful comment that follows Pindar's narration of Adrastos' exile: "the stronger man puts an end to the right that came before" (15).[13] It also helps to explain the curiously nonjudgmental way the poet presents Amphiaraos. On the one hand, he is characterized by his bold contrivances; it is thanks to him that Adrastos is in exile. On the other hand, he is protected from shame by Zeus, even in defeat, and his fate established him as a powerful chthonic and prophetic hero.[14] Chromios' connection to either hero, Adrastos or Amphiaraos, is not straightforward. Like Adrastos, he is living in a new city and establishing a new order there. Like Adrastos founding the Pythia, Chromios gives glory to his city.[15] Like Adrastos, he is a survivor of many vicissitudes and has a connection with Sikyon. Yet he also has elements in common with Amphiaraos: both are represented in the ode with teams of horses, and both are mighty in body and soul. Amphiaraos will become an oracular and protective presence in Greece, while Chromios has the mental and physical skills to turn aside impending slaughter in battle (37–39). Indeed, as we shall see in *Nemean* 1.26–30, Chromios' abilities are described in terms reminiscent of prophecy: his talent is "to see beforehand what is to come" (ἐσσόμενον προϊδεῖν).

The switch of focus in the myth from Adrastos to Amphiaraos allows the poet to present double mythological prototypes to whom Chromios can be referred, without committing him to a one-on-one correspondence. Pindar sets up a mythological background of faction and betrayal that nevertheless presents opportunities for success. This threatening background allows Chromios' positive achievements to shine out; for him there should be no betrayal, exile, or military failure.[16] Whereas the earth swallowed and hid Amphiaraos and his horses, the poet is determined "not to conceal silently on the ground the performance of a noble deed" (5–6). The return from Sikyon is not to the prospect of war, but, as noted above, to a blessed house where the doors have been thrown open and conquered by guests

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[13] Fraccaroli 1894: 613 aptly compares fr. 169, where *Nomos*, king of all, justifies what is most violent; cf. Braswell 1998: 73, "an expression of simple realism." Carey 1993: 99 interprets the line in more absolutist moral terms: the "stronger man . . . puts an end to the just order which existed before," and concludes (101–102) that Pindar's account "associates Amphiaraus with unjust actions and causes." This reading perhaps underestimates the pragmatism so essential in a Sicilian context. It is not justice itself that Amphiaraos brings down, but the *previous* instantiation of it.

[14] Hubbard 1992: 102.

[15] Hubbard 1992: 109; Carey 1993: 98–99.

[16] Cf. Carey 1993: 99, "Adrastus is in turn a positive and a negative example, first a mirror and then a contrast to Chromios."

rather than by enemies. Whereas the culmination of the campaign against Thebes was seven pyres "feasting" on the corpses of young men, the culmination of the victory revel will be a peaceful symposium.[17]

As noted above, we emerge from the myth in the sixth stanza with a prayer to Zeus that combines the wish to put off a Phoenician war with a prayer for harmony and lawfulness for the citizens of Aitna. The citizen body as a whole is characterized as horse loving and having souls superior to possessions. These characteristics are of course precisely those we would associate with a hippic victor, as if Chromios is exemplary for all; an entirely positive reciprocity is set up between him and his fellow citizens. This is all the more surprising since, as Pindar points out, Respect (*Aidōs*) is usually corrupted by the desire for gain. Yet it is this same Respect that brings glory. We will shortly hear that this goddess is responsible for Chromios' success in battle (36–37), but the implication is that the same virtue characterizes all the citizens. As we make the transition to the praise of Chromios, therefore, we are provided with a powerful political vignette of the new city, where internal qualities map harmoniously onto external civic life. This life is typified by law-abidingness: in line 29, the poet prays that the people long enjoy a portion of good government (*eunomon*), echoed in the public (*astunomois*) festivities of line 31. The fundamental importance given to Respect is of a piece with the conjuring of *eunomia*, for which respect is a necessary condition. The *eunomia* of Aitna contrasts the *stasis* (faction) of mythical Argos.

When the focus settles again on the victor, it does so in a second-person address by poet to audience: "Chromios you could have judged if you stood as his shield-bearer" (34–35). This intimate address co-opts the audience into the world of civic military performance.[18] It imagines "you" as present during naval, cavalry, and infantry battles. The mention of cavalry of course connects with the horse-loving souls of the Aitnaians and Chromios' chariot victory, expressing again the continuum

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[17] Crotty 1982: 90–91.

[18] It is instructive to compare similar material in *I.* 7 for Strepsiades of Thebes, where Pindar describes the military accomplishments of the victor's uncle in analogous terms. Here we are told that whoever in battle wards off the hailstorm of blood for the sake of his fatherland and turns the back onto the opposing army wins the greatest glory both living and dead. Thus Strepsiades (the uncle) died emulating the achievements of Meleager, Amphiaraos, and Hektor (*I.* 7.24–36). On this instance, the second-person address is reserved for the dead warrior rather than (as in *N.* 9) for the witness to the victor's deeds (a difference that, as noted above, subtly modifies the audience dynamic). Both winners are compared to Amphiaraos and Hektor, but whereas in *I.* 7 they are united by their glorious death, Chromios in *N.* 9 has succeeded in making it to a blessed old age of celebration. Note too that *I.* 7 can be explicit about fighting on behalf of the fatherland, a move impossible in the case of Chromios given the poet's desire to focus on the Heloros.

between the games and the life of the polis. The exhaustive specification of naval, cavalry, and infantry fighting creates a long temporal trajectory (one that in fact extends back before the foundation of the new city) and a picture of lifetime devotion to the common cause. We may note with particular interest the role assigned to this hypothetical witness, that of shield bearer or attendant, which has a heroic feel to it and establishes the witness as subordinate. Like Hektor, to whom he is compared in the lines that follow, Chromios is a champion who fights in the front ranks and enjoys higher status. The implication is also that, like Hektor, he fights to defend his city. He has the strength and the intelligence to "turn aside" the cloud of slaughter, a skill that can be attributed, the poet tells us, only to the few. Chromios emerges from the larger group and stands preeminent.

The choice of the Battle of Heloros as the focus of praise for Chromios' military achievement (40–42) seems to reflect a desire to survey the entire trajectory of Chromios' life from his "first youth" to a gentle old age (44), and it occurs despite the fact that, as we have seen, the Battle of the Heloros was neither defensive (and only questionably "aided by justice") from his point of view nor connected with the Phoenician Wars or battles for Aitna.[19] At a certain level it must have been so well known an *aristeia* that it could not be omitted, but it also has the function of emphasizing that "newly founded Aitna" is but one component of his larger excellence, although a culminating one. He has achieved marvelous prosperity and fame, and can advance no further along the cliff. What remains now is the peace of the symposium, and it is with the evocation of the symposium (along with a prayer to Zeus) that the poem draws to a close. Its significance can be evaluated on several levels. First, it looks to the drinking party that is the goal of the victory revel and may reflect a performance context. Second, it is part of the larger metaphorical revel orchestrated by the poet and accompanied by the Muses from Sikyon to Aitna.[20] Third, it is an ideal metaphor for the relationships that are to obtain in the new city. Its precondition is peace (*hēsuchia*) and, as Slater pointed out in a seminal article, the symposium is associated with *eunomia*, a concept that has both a political and a musical meaning and expresses group concord: good

[19] Copani 2005: 668–676 argues that the reference to the "Ford of Areia" in line 41 should bring to mind the Athena Areia who helped the Greeks at Plataia and had a temple there. He then concludes that the battle at the Heloros is in this way positively associated with one of the great victories in the Persian Wars. This is an ingenious interpretation, but perhaps it pushes the limits of allusion further than the text will bear.

[20] For "mirrored" performance settings, see Athanassaki 2012: 151.

government and harmony in an assembly.[21] The dark counterpart of these positive qualities is the out-of-control symposium, home to the hubris that is the opposite of Respect and generator of the discord and faction that were so great a problem for Adrastos in Argos and Eteokles in Thebes, and that threatened most Greek poleis (including Syracuse). Concord and good government were earlier part of Pindar's prayer for the people of Aitna and were reflected in their public festivities (ἀγλαΐαισιν δ' ἀστυνόμοις, 31; note that personified Aglaia is, like Eunomia, one of the *Hōrai*). Civic festival and victory symposium move close together here.

The rule of peace, concord, and respect in Aitna, moreover, is possible because the city, for the time being at least, is secured against the attack of outsiders through the virtues of Chromios. This is why the words πεῖραν μὲν ἀγάνορα Φοινικοστόλων ἐγχέων in the sixth stanza ("this/such a bold trial by the spears of the Phoenician expedition," 28–29) are picked up at the end of the poem by ταύταν ἀρετὰν ("this [deed of] excellence," 53), where the demonstrative pronoun ταύταν is in the identical metrical position in both stanzas, and where both occur in the context of a prayer to Zeus. Poetically and politically, Chromios' deed of excellence is the answer to the Phoenician threat. No wonder that the poet declares he is singing "on behalf of many" (54). Internal and external politics are thus carefully intertwined in this ode. Phoenicians, Syracusans (past and present), and Aitnaians are linked in a complex dialectic of aggression and defense, just as in the myth internal stasis and discord have important (and negative) implications for the inter-polis relations of Argos and Thebes. The connections between exile and return, strife, aggression, and defense are not necessarily causal or even logical, and as we have seen, they involve some sleight of hand. This is, after all, a poem and not a political treatise. One thing is, however, certain: the ode has been constructed in such a way as to emphasize that internal and external affairs are intimately connected. Since this is the case, the evocation of war against the barbarian is a trump card that forces all other issues into a (reductive) schema of good versus bad, with Chromios and those who praise him aligned on the side of good.

This pattern of contrast juxtaposing Phoenician threat with internal polis dynamics—not to mention the connection with idealized musical performance as a model of civic concord—should remind us of something. An almost identical collocation occurs in *Pythian* 1, whose similarity to *Nemean* 9 on a number of levels has long been recognized. Thus Hubbard comments that

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[21] Slater 1981: 206–208.

> the peace of the symposium rests on a foundation of violence and Bία, in conquest of the city's enemies. The same duality pervades Pindar's other Aetnaean ode, the great *P*. 1, whose lyre terrifies the defeated forces of disorder (represented by the Typhon) even as it sweetly lulls to sleep the powers of Olympian enlightenment.[22]

Carey focuses less on music and the symposium, and more on the victor's military credentials:

> Both odes represent the victor as the military champion of justice (*P*. 1. 71–80, *N*. 9. 34–44); both odes pray to Zeus on behalf of Aitna, requesting him to avert external attack and preserve internal order (*P*. 1. 67–73, *N*. 9. 28–30).

He goes on to suggest that since the audience of the two odes may well have overlapped, the resemblance was probably intentional.[23] He is undoubtedly right, and the preceding analysis here shows just what is at stake in the similarity: the authority of a military and athletic victor to rule and protect the city, the implication of music (and in particular Pindar's song) in the ethos of the city, and the connection of civic structure with "defensive" wars against the barbarian (remembering that the intrusion of the Phoenician foe into *N*. 9 sits oddly in context, working because its relevance is assumed rather than demonstrated). The ode makes the career and character of Chromios foundational for the newly established polis.

Yet we also need to pay attention to how the two odes are not alike. To be sure, a family resemblance (and I use the word advisedly) is not surprising: the odes are for the same city and they are composed for a monarch and his second in command, for two brothers-in-law. Is it, however, correct to say that *Nemean* 9 treats Chromios as a ruler and a general?[24] As a general, yes, but perhaps not as a ruler. There is little in this ode that could not be said of a member of the elite in many Greek cities, and no reference at all to a ruling position. Pindar does tell Chromios that he has

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[22] Hubbard 1992: 111.

[23] Carey 1993: 106. For him a further similarity is that both odes, "while placing the patron under the protection of Zeus, explicitly associate the hostility of Zeus with the patron's negative (mythic) counterpart (*P*. 1. 13, *N*. 9. 19)," a reading that presupposes (as I do not) that Amphiaraos is an entirely negative figure. For more on overlapping audiences between the two odes, see Morrison 2007: 104–105.

[24] Carey 1993: 106.

achieved "marvelous prosperity" and deploys the "look to achieve nothing further" rhetoric of the cliff edge in the penultimate stanza (a rhetoric that is familiar from tyrant odes such as *O*. 1.114–115, *O*. 3.43–45). *Pythian* 1, however, makes Hieron's position perfectly clear: he is the "famous founder" of the polis, has won more fame than any other Greek, and is part of a regal dynasty at Aitna (*P*. 1.31, 48–49, 60). Whereas in *Pythian* 1 Hieron's chariot victory gave kudos to the city and is explicitly treated as a foundational omen for its future (*P*. 1.32, 35–38), the only founder in *Nemean* 9 is Adrastos, who gives kudos to Sikyon when he is king over the city and founds the Pythia there (τότε μὲν βασιλεύων κεῖθι νέαισί θ' ἑορταῖς . . . ἄμφαινε κυδαίνων πόλιν, 11–12). Now Adrastos is, as we have seen, a model for Chromios in the ode but also recalls Hieron (as the ruler whose sister cements a marriage tie with his subordinate), and it is Hieron who was king in Aitna, who founded its festivals, and who gave it glory. In comparison with the precision of *Pythian* 1, Chromios seems curiously unspecified in *Nemean* 9.

If Chromios is treated more as an aristocrat than a king, this can only be the result of his subordinate status with regard to Hieron. His chariot victory, represented as a benefit to the city in much the same way as other elite victories, is emblematic of general virtues. The mythological material in the ode acknowledges the context of faction in which someone like Chromios might make a play for power, but it casts this scenario as undesirable—particularly given the ongoing threat of the Phoenicians. The temporal scope of Chromios' career extends, however, beyond the foundation of Aitna. We note that, in the context of *Nemean* 9 at least (and here we can contrast *Nemean* 1), he is not threatened by the envious and presides over the celebrations as gracious host. He truly can look no further, and the close of poem emphatically predicts a quiet old age. Cole was right to read the ode as an "endorsement . . . of the monarchical status quo" and a statement of the need for absolute loyalty on Chromios' part.[25] By the same token, this is a message for the rest of Hieron's subjects also.

Whatever the precise dating of *Nemean* 9, its close relationship with *Pythian* 1 and its political complexity go some way toward explaining why Chromios (possibly in consultation with Hieron?) chose to commission an ode for a chariot victory in a relatively obscure athletic contest. If Pindar's reference to the prize "which *once* (*pote*) his horses won" (52) implies that the victory at the Sikyonian Pythia need not have been recent, this would

[25] Cole 1992: 118, 120; Cole's focus on Polyneikes, however, is perhaps overstated.

further highlight the careful deliberation involved in presenting the ode after the Battle of Kumai and in the context of Aitna (although it would render the problem of chronology even more intractable).[26] Chromios chose this victory and these games to make a restrained statement about his place in the new polis. If, moreover, the ode comes after *Pythian* 1, the similarities between the two odes make a particular point: that Chromios' chariot victory (Sikyonian Pythia as opposed to Delphic Pythia) and his military exploits (of which only the Battle of Heloros is specifically mentioned) are a paler reflection of Hieron's superior and superlative achievements. The difference between the poems is encapsulated in the javelin metaphors that Pindar uses in both to describe his expectations for his poetic achievement. At *Pythian* 1.43–45 he hopes that in his praise of Hieron he will throw his javelin further than anyone else, and criticism on the ode generally justifies him. At *Nemean* 9.55 he prays to throw his javelin closest to the target, choosing accuracy over length. In praising a tyrant one's ambition is, we might say, to hit it out of the park. When praising his associate and (at Aitna) regent, the task is far subtler and the performance needs to be right on target.

Nemean 1

Α′ Ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφεοῦ,
κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν θάλος Ὀρτυγία,
δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος,
Δάλου κασιγνήτα, σέθεν ἁδυεπής
ὕμνος ὁρμᾶται θέμεν (5)
αἶνον ἀελλοπόδων
μέγαν ἵππων, Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν·
ἅρμα δ' ὀτρύνει Χρομίου Νεμέα
τ' ἔργμασιν νικαφόροις ἐγκώμιον ζεῦξαι μέλος.

ἀρχαὶ δὲ βέβληνται θεῶν
κείνου σὺν ἀνδρὸς δαιμονίαις ἀρεταῖς.
ἔστι δ' ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ (10)
πανδοξίας ἄκρον· μεγάλων δ' ἀέθλων
Μοῖσα μεμνᾶσθαι φιλεῖ.
σπεῖρέ νυν ἀγλαΐαν
τινὰ νάσῳ, τὰν Ὀλύμπου δεσπότας

[26] Carey 1993: 97. Carey's remarks (1993: 107) on the discretion with which Pindar treats Chromios' achievements vis-à-vis Hieron seem to me well founded.

Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν Φερσεφόνᾳ, κατένευ-
σέν τέ οἱ χαίταις, ἀριστεύοισαν εὐκάρπου χθονός

Σικελίαν πίειραν ὀρθώ-
σειν κορυφαῖς πολίων ἀφνειαῖς·
ὤπασε δὲ Κρονίων πολέμου
μναστῆρά οἱ χαλκεντέος
λαὸν ἵππαιχμον, θαμὰ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμ-
πιάδων φύλλοις ἐλαιᾶν χρυσέοις
μιχθέντα. πολλῶν ἐπέβαν
καιρὸν οὐ ψεύδει βαλών·

Β′ ἔσταν δ’ ἐπ’ αὐλείαις θύραις
ἀνδρὸς φιλοξείνου καλὰ μελπόμενος,
ἔνθα μοι ἁρμόδιον
δεῖπνον κεκόσμηται, θαμὰ δ’ ἀλλοδαπῶν
οὐκ ἀπείρατοι δόμοι
ἐντί· λέλογχε δὲ μεμ-
φομένοις ἐσλοὺς ὕδωρ καπνῷ φέρειν
ἀντίον. τέχναι δ’ ἑτέρων ἕτεραι·
χρὴ δ’ ἐν εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς στείχοντα μάρνασθαι φυᾷ.

πράσσει γὰρ ἔργῳ μὲν σθένος,
βουλαῖσι δὲ φρήν, ἐσσόμενον προϊδεῖν
συγγενὲς οἷς ἕπεται.
Ἀγησιδάμου παῖ, σέο δ’ ἀμφὶ τρόπῳ
τῶν τε καὶ τῶν χρήσιες.
οὐκ ἔραμαι πολὺν ἐν
μεγάρῳ πλοῦτον κατακρύψαις ἔχειν,
ἀλλ’ ἐόντων εὖ τε παθεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦ-
σαι φίλοις ἐξαρκέων. κοιναὶ γὰρ ἔρχοντ’ ἐλπίδες

πολυπόνων ἀνδρῶν. ἐγὼ δ’ Ἡ-
ρακλέος ἀντέχομαι προφρόνως
ἐν κορυφαῖς ἀρετᾶν μεγάλαις,
ἀρχαῖον ὀτρύνων λόγον,
ὡς, ἐπεὶ σπλάγχνων ὕπο ματέρος αὐ-
τίκα θαητὰν ἐς αἴγλαν παῖς Διός
ὠδῖνα φεύγων διδύμῳ
σὺν κασιγνήτῳ μόλεν,

Γ′ ὡς {τ’} οὐ λαθὼν χρυσόθρονον
Ἥραν κροκωτὸν σπάργανον ἐγκατέβα·

ἀλλὰ θεῶν βασιλέα
σπερχθεῖσα θυμῷ πέμπε δράκοντας ἄφαρ.
τοὶ μὲν οἰχθεισᾶν πυλᾶν
ἐς θαλάμου μυχὸν εὐ-
ρὺν ἔβαν, τέκνοισιν ὠκείας γνάθους
ἀμφελίξασθαι μεμαῶτες· ὁ δ' ὀρ-
θὸν μὲν ἄντεινεν κάρα, πειρᾶτο δὲ πρῶτον μάχας,

δισσαῖσι δοιοὺς αὐχένων
μάρψαις ἀφύκτοις χερσὶν ἑαῖς ὄφιας.
ἀγχομένοις δὲ χρόνος
ψυχὰς ἀπέπνευσεν μελέων ἀφάτων.
ἐκ δ' ἄρ' ἄτλατον δέος
πλᾶξε γυναῖκας, ὅσαι
τύχον Ἀλκμήνας ἀρήγοισαι λέχει·
καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ ποσσὶν ἄπεπλος ὀρού-
σαισ' ἀπὸ στρωμνᾶς ὅμως ἄμυνεν ὕβριν κνωδάλων.

ταχὺ δὲ Καδμείων ἀγοὶ χαλ-
κέοις σὺν ὅπλοις ἔδραμον ἀθρόοι,
ἐν χερὶ δ' Ἀμφιτρύων κολεοῦ
γυμνὸν τινάσσων <φάσγανον>
ἵκετ', ὀξείαις ἀνίαισι τυπείς.
τὸ γὰρ οἰκεῖον πιέζει πάνθ' ὁμῶς·
εὐθὺς δ' ἀπήμων κραδία
κᾶδος ἀμφ' ἀλλότριον.

Δ′ ἔστα δὲ θάμβει δυσφόρῳ
τερπνῷ τε μιχθείς. εἶδε γὰρ ἐκνόμιον
λῆμά τε καὶ δύναμιν
υἱοῦ· παλίγγλωσσον δέ οἱ ἀθάνατοι
ἀγγέλων ῥῆσιν θέσαν.
γείτονα δ' ἐκκάλεσεν
Διὸς ὑψίστου προφάταν ἔξοχον,
ὀρθόμαντιν Τειρεσίαν· ὁ δέ οἱ
φράζε καὶ παντὶ στρατῷ, ποίαις ὁμιλήσει τύχαις,

ὅσσους μὲν ἐν χέρσῳ κτανών,
ὅσσους δὲ πόντῳ θῆρας ἀϊδροδίκας·
καί τινα σὺν πλαγίῳ
ἀνδρῶν κόρῳ στείχοντα τὸν ἐχθρότατον

φᾶ έ δᾳώσειν μόρον.[27]
καὶ γὰρ ὅταν θεοὶ ἐν
πεδίῳ Φλέγρας Γιγάντεσσιν μάχαν
ἀντιάζωσιν, βελέων ὑπὸ ῥι-
παῖσι κείνου φαιδίμαν γαίᾳ πεφύρσεσθαι κόμαν

ἔνεπεν· αὐτὸν μὰν ἐν εἰρή-
να τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον <ἐν> σχερῷ
ἡσυχίαν καμάτων μεγάλων (70)
ποινὰν λαχόντ' ἐξαίρετον
ὀλβίοις ἐν δώμασι, δεξάμενον
θαλερὰν Ἥβαν ἄκοιτιν καὶ γάμον
δαίσαντα πὰρ Διὶ Κρονίδᾳ,
σεμνὸν αἰνήσειν νόμον.

A′ Revered spout of the Alpheos
Ortygia, offshoot of famous Syracuse,
couch of Artemis,
sister of Delos: from you
the sweet words of my hymn set out to lay down (5)
great praise for the horses with whirlwind feet,
for the sake of Zeus of Aitna.
The chariot of Chromios and Nemea urge me on
to yoke a song of revel to his victorious deeds.

Its beginnings have been laid down by the gods
together with the marvelous excellence of that man.
In fair fortune lies (10)
the height of renown
and the Muse loves to memorialize great contests.
Sow, then, some festive celebration
over the island which the master of Olympos,
Zeus, gave to Persephone,
and promised her with a nod of his locks,
that it would be pre-eminent for its fruitful earth,

that (s)he would exalt Sicily to richness,
with abundant crowns[28] of cities, (15)
and the son of Kronos gave to it a people
that was a suitor of bronze-armored war,

[27] For the reading here, see Braswell 1992: 76–77.
[28] For the translation, see Braswell 1992: 43.

a horse-loving people, often crowned, as well,
with golden leaves of Olympic olive.
I have embarked on many themes
without casting a falsehood upon my occasion.

B′ I have taken my stand at the courtyard doors
of a man who welcomes strangers, singing fair songs,
where a fitting
dinner has been set for me, laid in splendor;
his house is not inexperienced with frequent foreign visitors.
It is the lot of good men
to bring water against the smoke of those who blame.
Different skills characterize different people,
but one must walk on straight paths
and strive with one's innate power.

For strength acts through deeds,
and the mind through counsel, to see beforehand what is to come,
in the case of those whose talent it is.
Child of Hagesidamos, in your case
there are uses for both eventualities.
I do not love to keep great wealth hidden in the hall,
but to be well off in my possessions and be
well spoken of while helping friends.
For common hopes come to

men who toil much. But I eagerly
cleave to Herakles
when it comes to the great peaks of excellence,
urging on an ancient story,
how, as soon as he emerged from the womb
of his mother into the wondrous gleam of day,
the child of Zeus,
fleeing the birth pang with his twin brother,

Γ′ how not unnoticed by Hera of the golden throne
did he put on the yellow swaddling clothes,
but the queen of the gods,
angry in her spirit, immediately sent serpents.
They came through the open doors
into the wide recess of the chamber:
to wrap their swift jaws around the children

was their desire, but he
lifted his head up straight and made his first try of battle,

seizing the two serpents by the neck
with his two inescapable hands,
and as they were strangled, time
made them breathe away the life from their unspeakable bodies.
Unbearable fear
struck the women who were there
to help Alkmena in her bed,
for she herself, leaping to her feet from her bed without her robe,
was nevertheless trying to ward off
the monsters' outrage.

Swiftly the leaders of the Kadmeians
ran in as a group with their bronze weapons,
and Amphitryon, shaking from its sheath with his hand
a naked dagger,
arrived struck by sharp distress.
For what is close to home oppresses all alike,
but the heart is immediately untroubled
when it comes to someone else's woe.

Δ′ He stood, mingling horrified
with delighted amazement, for he saw the unusual
spirit and power
of his son, and the immortals
made the reports of the messengers false.
He summoned his neighbor,
the outstanding prophet of highest Zeus,
Tiresias, the true prophet. He told him
and the entire host what kinds of fortune he would meet,

how many beasts he would kill by land,
how many by sea—beasts that know no justice;
and he said that to a man
who walked with crooked excess
he would give a most hateful fate.
For when the gods encountered the giants
in battle on the plain of Phlegra,
by the shafts of that hero's arrows
he would sully his shining hair with earth

—so he said. He, on the other hand, for all time
in peace without interruption
would receive as his allotment rest
as an outstanding recompense for his great labors, (70)
in the home of the blessed, receiving
blooming Hebe as his wife,
and, feasting his marriage at the side of
Zeus son of Kronos,
would praise his hallowed law.

Nemean 1 falls into two slightly uneven parts. In the first (shorter) half, the spotlight is on Chromios and Sicily and in the second on Herakles. The opening invokes Ortygia and Zeus of Aitna before broadening the focus to the virtues of Sicily as home to a people expert in war and in the games. In the second triad, Pindar stages the singer as a recipient of Chromios' hospitality and then praises the latter's intelligence and strength while also stressing the important role played by epinician song in combating the envious; wealth is to be put to good use in hospitality and song. Toward the end of the second triad, Herakles is summoned as exemplar of mighty deeds. The story told of him relates to his first exploit: strangling the snakes sent by a jealous Hera to kill him and his brother in their cradle, to the considerable astonishment of his parents and their household. Teiresias is summoned to make sense of this occurrence, and he predicts Herakles' future of labors against beasts, humans, and Giants, ending with the hero's reward on Olympos: marriage to Hebe, goddess of youth, and celebrating his marriage feast with the gods.

My analysis here will not attempt to explicate every nuance of the ode, and I will spend little time on the substantial charms of the narrative of Herakles and the serpents. Instead I shall concentrate on three areas where the poem might resonate with Syracusan political concerns: the contextualization of the victory within a Syracusan and Sicilian context, the potential for seeing the figure of Zeus as a paradigm for Hieron as Herakles is a paradigm for Chromios, and the multivalent function of the banquet (Chromios' banquet with his guests, Chromios' implicit banquet with Hieron, and Herakles' banquet with Zeus). We shall see that Chromios is carefully positioned as an elite individual whose triumph reflects well on Syracuse and Sicily (and so much might be said mutatis mutandis of many a Pindaric victor) and made emblematic of the hopes of humanity. Whatever his history (or future) as governor of Aitna, however, we see no trace in this ode of any treatment of him as a figure of kingly authority. His Nemean victory is placed in the context of frequent Olympic ones and

Herakles, his mythical comparandum, ends his existence happily at the side of someone far greater than he. Chromios is not, in this poem at least, a figure to generate problematic myths but broadly aspirational narrative.

Chromios and Sicily

In contrast to *Nemean* 9, the ode mentions Aitna only in the context of Zeus of Aitna, whose connection with the celebration is unclear. The scholia report that the ode was composed for Chromios of Aitna (*inscr.* a) and also include (7b) Didymus' speculation that the reason for invoking Aitnaian Zeus was that, since Hieron's epinicians for victories in the crown games were sung at the festival of this god, this ode was too. We need not accept that the festival was the primary venue for epinician presentation to find performance there (or at least reperformance) plausible, but we do need to acknowledge that despite the mention of Aitna, the poem situates itself explicitly in a Syracusan context. It opens with the fountain of Arethusa on Ortygia and identifies Ortygia itself as an offshoot of Syracuse. Despite scholiastic speculation that Ortygia is named because the stables of Hieron and Chromios were there (*inscr.* b), it is more likely that the island directs our attention toward the center of power in the city, the place where the victory festivities will take place. This is where Chromios will have had his house in Syracuse, and his house is the goal of the victory revel. By line 19, the singer has arrived at this house and is standing at its doors with the expectation that he will soon enter and partake in the banquet.[29]

Ortygia and Arethusa are the heart of a geographic network centered on Syracuse, and the first stanzas move outward from this hub. Ortygia is connected as a sibling to Delos with its cult of Apollo and Artemis. It also has (mythologically speaking) a physical connection with the Alpheos river in Olympia, which runs under the sea from the Peloponnese to emerge there at the fountain of Arethusa. Artemis (whose "couch" Ortygia is said to be) may have had a statue near the fountain and been worshipped on the island at the temple of Apollo. The first lines thus connect Ortygia with important Greek cult centers at Delos and Olympia and might also recall Syracuse's foundation oracle, which (as quoted in Pausanias 5.7.3) spoke of Ortygia as the place where the mouth of the Alpheos gushed forth.[30] We saw in Chapter 2 that Gelon's first minting of tetradrachms in Syracuse alluded to the connection between Alpheos, Olympia, and Ortygia/Arethusa. The

[29] Carey 1981: 110; cf. Radt 1966: 151.
[30] Cf. Drew Griffith 2008: 4.

reference to Zeus of Aitna in close proximity to Nemea—and thus to Nemean Zeus, who presided over the games where Chromios won his victory—similarly links Sicily and the Peloponnese. No surprise, then, that at lines 13–18 the poet tells how Zeus gave all of Sicily to Persephone and promised that the island would be rich in cities and home to a warlike and horse-loving people who would often enjoy Olympic victory. The praise is now more generalized, perhaps because the ode was designed to appeal to audiences from all over the island,[31] but also in order to implicate the entire island in a Syracusan success (cf. *O*. 1.13, where Hieron is said to wield the scepter of justice in Sicily). No matter the ethnic title under which Chromios was proclaimed in Nemea or at home, Aitnaian or Syracusan, the poem has broad geographic ambitions.

Although the new foundation of Aitna is not the primary focus of this network, one might imagine that it is included in the abundant crowns of cities mentioned in line 15. Similarly, the golden leaves of Olympic olive in line 17 will encompass Hieron's prizes for victory in the horse races of 476 and (depending on the chronology) 472, not to mention Gelon's Olympic chariot victory of 488 while resident in Gela. If Morrison's hypothesis of overlapping local audiences for the Sicilian odes is correct, we would also have to include Theron of Akragas' Olympic chariot victory of 476 as an exhibit of Olympic success.[32] Certainly the breadth of the praise of Sicily is well calculated to appeal to a broad constituency, and the description of Chromios' house as "not inexperienced with frequent foreign visitors" (22–24) adds to the cosmopolitan flavor here. Yet the core is still Syracuse, whose connection with Olympia by means of the Alpheos opens the ode and is implicit in the boast of Olympic crowns that brings the praise of the island to a close, as though Olympic victory is funneled into the island through the undersea link. Nestled at the core of this material is Chromios' Nemean victory (7–12), the occasion for the celebration. There is probably some truth in the idea that Hieron's henchmen (such as Chromios and Hagesias) were encouraged not to compete with the tyrant in the most prestigious locations and contests. Thus Chromios' chariot victories are at Sikyon and Nemea, while Hagesias' Olympic victory (to which we shall soon turn) was in the mule car race.[33] The poem, then, contextualizes Chromios' victory within Syracuse and Sicily, makes him one of many, and puts him in his place.

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[31] Morrison 2012: 117.
[32] Morrison 2012: 117–118; cf. Wilamowitz 1922: 254; Rose 1974: 168.
[33] Méautis 1962: 170–171.

The second triad locates Chromios within familiar epinician territory. He is a gracious host, potentially the object of blame by the envious, but sure to rise above their carping: "It is the lot of good men to bring water against the smoke of those who blame" (24).[34] He has both strength and good counsel, the ability to predict what is to come (the same combination of talents praised at *N*. 9.37–39).[35] This means both that he can function successfully within a civic context and that he will be able to react properly to the foreknowledge of death by having Pindar generate epinician poetry on his behalf. The singer's exhortation not to keep wealth hidden in the house but to use it for cementing relationships with friends and in order to be well spoken of is a natural extension of these concerns.[36] The picture drawn here of Chromios' nature and the connection of his nature through gnomic material with norms of aristocratic generosity (31–32), straightforwardness, and innate excellence (ἐν εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς στείχοντα μάρνασθαι φυᾷ, "one must walk on straight paths and strive with one's innate power," 25) cement his presentation as a Syracusan aristocrat. Within the poem we can contrast this straightforwardness with the "man who walked with crooked excess" (τινα σὺν πλαγίῳ ἀνδρῶν κόρῳ στείχοντα) and who is killed by Herakles (64–65). This uncomplicated opposition, however, diverges from the model set up in *Pythian* 2.84–85, where the singer declared "as an enemy, I shall attack my enemy like a wolf, treading on crooked paths (πατέων ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς), sometimes this way, sometimes that." We need not waste time in trying to reconcile the difference between the two odes when it comes to walking crooked or straight. As we have seen, the *Pythian* 2 passage goes on to comment that "the straight-talking man excels in every form of government," and it is surely in the latter category that Chromios would belong, excelling as he does while being the (elite) subject of a tyrant. In this ode Chromios is not a potential ruler. *Nemean* 1 has no interest in the complexities of monarchical judgment and its reflection in equally subtle poetic strategy. It includes Chromios in the community of the good, but his position there is not an authoritative one.

The point is reinforced by the gnomic reflection before the transition to the myth: "common hopes come to men who toil much" (33–34). Interpreters have seen in the sentiment an allusion to the sad truth that death comes to

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[34] For the translation here, see Waring 1982 (contra Radt 1966: 154–160 and Stoneman 1979: 65–70).
[35] Rose 1974: 171; Petrucione 1986: 38.
[36] Petrucione 1986: 38–39; cf. Kurke 1991: 229.

all, or (with the scholiast ad 48b) advice to Chromios to stock up on friends in case of future misfortune,[37] but as Carey points out, "hopes" should be positive rather than negative. All men hope to have a good reputation and do good to their friends; this is why they are full of toil. The toils in question can be read at several levels. We might think that mortals are, as a species, much-toiling, but we must also understand the toils as athletic labors (and in the case of Herakles, soon to follow, his heroic exploits in ridding the world of monsters, crooks, and giants).[38] The general statement thus accommodates all in the city from the low to the high. Chromios is at a high—though not the highest—point in this continuum. Herakles, whose entire life trajectory will shortly be presented, marks the place where achievement can no longer be contained within the mortal sphere. Even here, however, Pindar will be careful to set Herakles' reward within a structured monarchical context.

Herakles

The precise relevance of Herakles to Chromios (as with so many myths) has been much discussed since the time of the scholia.[39] The most fundamental parallelism is, as Braswell, following a scholiast, observes, that Chromios and Herakles both find rest and prosperity at the end after many earlier toils.[40] How much further can or should we push this? Both have given evidence of their innate qualities throughout their life (and if we recall *Nemean* 9, we know that Chromios, like Herakles, has fought on land and sea). Both will rest from their labors in a blessed house. Both are celebrated in song.[41] Given this book's focus on Hieron, however, the most intriguing possibility is to see the relationship between Hieron and Chromios lying behind that of Zeus and Herakles. At the end of the poem Teiresias predicts that Herakles will receive Hebe as his bride, celebrate his marriage feast next to Zeus, and praise his hallowed law. As we have already seen, Chromios was related to Hieron by marriage and spent a lifetime prosecuting Deinomenid interests in Sicily and southern Italy. He would undoubtedly have been a frequent guest at Hieron's banquets, both

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[37] Petrucione 1986: 39–40; Radt 1966: 160–164.
[38] Carey 1981: 118; cf. Rosenmeyer 1969: 241.
[39] Schol. *N.* 1.49b, c; Wilamowitz 1922: 256 (who concluded that there was no real connection and Pindar did it because he felt like it); Rosenmeyer 1969 (for whom the key is promise and its future exploitation); Petrucione 1986 (for whom Pindar, as well as Chromios, is an analogue for the hero); Rose 1974: 165–169 (who reads the myth as encapsulating hopes for the new city of Aitna); Newman and Newman 1984: 70–72.
[40] Braswell 1992: 56.
[41] Radt 1966: 167; Carey 1981: 118–119, with references to earlier scholarship.

before and after his stint as regent in Aitna. There might thus be a subtle compliment in the implication that if Chromios is like Herakles, Hieron is like Zeus; his battles on behalf of Deinomenid interests take on the positive resonance of the gigantomachy.[42] The plain of Phlegra, where the gigantomachy took place, was located by western Greek tradition in the vicinity of Kumai in Strabo's time (Strabo 5.4.4), and there is no reason to doubt that the association existed earlier. This would mean that an ancient audience could map the Battle of Kumai, in which Hieron's navy defeated the Phoenicians and Etruscans and in which we have good reason to believe that Chromios participated, onto the gigantomachy,[43] just as in *Pythian* 1 the same victory is associated with the fall of the monstrous Typhon.

We have seen how, in *Nemean* 9, the image of the symposium that closed the ode stood as an example of civic harmony. The banquet that closes *Nemean* 1, with the deified hero at the side of Zeus, represents the rapprochement of the mortal and the divine (or the close relationship between superior and subordinate) as a reward for good deeds. To the extent that the banquet on Olympos mirrors the feast of Hieron and Chromios on earth, we can conclude that Hieron's favor will recompense Chromios for his labors. If we read the ode against *Nemean* 9, we will connect this bliss with the peaceful old age that Pindar predicts for Chromios there (*N*. 9.44–45).[44] The banquet on Olympos also mirrors the banquet that will follow the performance of the ode (21–22), predicted by the poet just as Teiresias predicts Herakles' marriage feast. This victory banquet is, in turn, one instance of the frequent banquets offered by the hospitable Chromios. Chromios is thus figured as both the host of many banquets, reinforcing his status as an elite citizen of Syracuse, and (analogously to Herakles) the recipient of feasting honors from his superior. He occupies a mediating position between citizens and ruler as Herakles mediates between mortals and gods. The ode may treat him as a private citizen, but

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[42] Radt 1966: 167. Braswell 1992: 56 remarks skeptically "Whether Pindar or his audience would have thought of other parallels as does e.g. S. L. Radt . . . is uncertain." Very little in literary interpretation is certain, but Pindar's explicit association of Typhon with Kumai in *Pythian* 1 shows that this type of parallel could easily be deployed by him in the late 470s. Less convincing to me, given that the focus on Aitna in this ode is minimal, is Rose's suggestion (1974: 168–169) that we should see a parallel between the new city of Aitna and the precocious son of Zeus. For Braswell (1992: 82) any linkage of Zeus and Hieron is "another example of the kind of overinterpretation which continues to bedevil Pindaric criticism."

[43] Radt 1966: 171 n. 3 and developed at greater length by Slater 1984: 258–259. Marconi 1994: 292–298 points out that the gigantomachy is an important theme in architectural sculpture in Sicily in the first half of the fifth century and connects this phenomenon with Pindar's ode for Chromios (295). Contra: Braswell 1992: 79.

[44] Morrison 2007: 30–31; 2012: 124–125.

it also leaves room for a knowledgeable audience to acknowledge his special status. This intermediary role is reflected again in the final words of the ode as Teiresias predicts that Herakles on Olympos would "praise the hallowed law" of Zeus (σεμνὸν αἰνήσειν νόμον, 72). The majority of the poem has been occupied by the praise of Herakles, yet at the last we are given a picture of the hero praising in turn, presumably the ordinances of Zeus.[45] Herakles has a character that is "unusual" (*eknomion*), but he realizes a higher law (*nomos*). If the Hieron-Zeus parallel stands, Chromios too, extraordinary as he is, has reason to praise the ordinances of his superior. When everyone knows his or her place, extraordinary bliss becomes possible.

The obvious difference, however, between Herakles and Chromios is that immortality awaits the one but not the other. Although Chromios, like all Pindaric victors, can hope that he will be immortalized in song, his feast and celebration is firmly located in this world. Perhaps because he is a nonmonarchical honorand, and thus less problematic than Hieron, Pindar can create an exemplary mythological situation in which a mortal passes through the barrier that separates gods and men. Yet if Chromios cannot pass through this barrier, we may also need to be alert to analogies between his position and that of Amphitryon, Herakles' adoptive father in the ode and delighted spectator of a greatness for which he is not responsible. As was the case with *Nemean* 9, a variety of mythological correspondences present themselves and enable us to understand the achievement of the honorand under several rubrics. Like Amphitryon, Chromios was entrusted with the guardianship of a quasi-royal youth (Deinomenes) but stands outside the direct father-son relationship.[46]

The unproblematic deployment of a mythological passage through the barrier between mortality and immortality becomes especially significant when we compare it with the myths of some of the Hieron odes. There, as we have seen, situations in which a favored mortal was especially close to the divine came to an unfortunate end when the mortal transgressed against this fundamental boundary. Koronis' infidelity to Apollo and Asklepios' attempts to bring mortals back from the dead resulted in disaster (*Pythian* 3). In two instances these sins occurred when the mortals in question took improper advantage of their right to commensality with the divine: Tantalos

[45] Cf. Carey 1981: 130, with discussion of the manuscript reading here.

[46] I thank an anonymous reader for pointing out this parallel to me. See also, however, Luraghi 1994: 333–334 for speculation that Chromios was the guardian not of Deinomenes but of Gelon's son.

gave the nectar and ambrosia of the gods to his mortal drinking companions (*Olympian* 1) and Ixion attempted to seduce Hera (*Pythian* 2). Tantalos' transgression caused the ejection of his son Pelops from his privileged position on Olympos. I have argued in previous chapters that we can understand these myths as "fall narratives" presenting the dangers to which those particularly blessed are exposed. Mortal nature usually cannot withstand the weight of divine beneficence; great favor creates the opportunity for exemplary transgression and punishment. Because of these past instances of mortal hubris, even exceptional figures such as kings—who of all mortals come closest to the divine—cannot transcend their mortality. The Herakles narrative of *Nemean* 1, on the other hand, presents us with one mortal who achieved this goal. Rather than falling from divine commensality, he achieves it as reward for his services to the gods. We need not imagine that Pindar is promising Chromios immortality (whether cultic or otherwise); rather he constructs a picture of upward rank mobility, where a subordinate is admitted to the table of his lord. It is just because Chromios is treated as a private citizen that upward mobility is not threatening or transgressive (and of course it has been emphasized at *N.* 9.46–47 that he can go no further). He has been a loyal subject and helper to his king.[47]

Olympian 6

Α′ Χρυσέας ὑποστάσαντες εὐ-
τειχεῖ προθύρῳ θαλάμου
κίονας ὡς ὅτε θαητὸν μέγαρον
πάξομεν· ἀρχομένου δ' ἔργου πρόσωπον
χρὴ θέμεν τηλαυγές. εἰ δ' εἴ-
η μὲν Ὀλυμπιονίκας,
βωμῷ τε μαντείῳ ταμίας Διὸς ἐν Πίσᾳ, (5)
συνοικιστήρ τε τᾶν κλεινᾶν Συρακοσ-
σᾶν, τίνα κεν φύγοι ὕμνον
κεῖνος ἀνήρ, ἐπικύρσαις
ἀφθόνων ἀστῶν ἐν ἱμερταῖς ἀοιδαῖς;

ἴστω γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ πεδί-
λῳ δαιμόνιον πόδ' ἔχων
Σωστράτου υἱός. ἀκίνδυνοι δ' ἀρεταί
οὔτε παρ' ἀνδράσιν οὔτ' ἐν ναυσὶ κοίλαις (10)

[47] So too Cole 1992: 120.

τίμιαι· πολλοὶ δὲ μέμναν-
ται, καλὸν εἴ τι ποναθῇ.
Ἀγησία, τὶν δ᾽ αἶνος ἑτοῖμος, ὃν ἐν δίκᾳ
ἀπὸ γλώσσας Ἄδραστος μάντιν Οἰκλεί-
δαν ποτ᾽ ἐς Ἀμφιάρηον
φθέγξατ᾽, ἐπεὶ κατὰ γαῖ᾽ αὐ-
τόν τέ νιν καὶ φαιδίμας ἵππους ἔμαρψεν.

ἑπτὰ δ᾽ ἔπειτα πυρᾶν νε- (15)
κρῶν τελεσθέντων Ταλαϊονίδας
εἶπεν ἐν Θήβαισι τοιοῦτόν τι ἔπος·
‘Ποθέω στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμᾶς
ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ᾽ ἀγαθὸν καὶ
δουρὶ μάρνασθαι.’ τὸ καί
ἀνδρὶ κώμου δεσπότᾳ πάρεστι Συρακοσίῳ.
οὔτε δύσηρις ἐὼν οὔτ᾽ ὢν φιλόνικος ἄγαν,
καὶ μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμόσσαις τοῦτό γέ οἱ σαφέως (20)
μαρτυρήσω· μελίφθογ-
γοι δ᾽ ἐπιτρέψοντι Μοῖσαι.

Β′ ὦ Φίντις, ἀλλὰ ζεῦξον ἤ-
δη μοι σθένος ἡμιόνων,
ᾇ τάχος, ὄφρα κελεύθῳ τ᾽ ἐν καθαρᾷ
βάσομεν ὄκχον, ἵκωμαί τε πρὸς ἀνδρῶν
καὶ γένος· κεῖναι γὰρ ἐξ ἀλ- (25)
λᾶν ὁδὸν ἀγεμονεῦσαι
ταύταν ἐπίστανται, στεφάνους ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ
ἐπεὶ δέξαντο· χρὴ τοίνυν πύλας ὕ-
μνων ἀναπιτνάμεν αὐταῖς·
πρὸς Πιτάναν δὲ παρ᾽ Εὐρώ-
τα πόρον δεῖ σάμερον ἐλθεῖν ἐν ὥρᾳ·

ἅ τοι Ποσειδάωνι μι-
χθεῖσα Κρονίῳ λέγεται
παῖδα ἰόπλοκον Εὐάδναν τεκέμεν. (30)
κρύψε δὲ παρθενίαν ὠδῖνα κόλποις·
κυρίῳ δ᾽ ἐν μηνὶ πέμποισ᾽
ἀμφιπόλους ἐκέλευσεν
ἥρωι πορσαίνειν δόμεν Εἰλατίδᾳ βρέφος,
ὃς ἀνδρῶν Ἀρκάδων ἄνασσε Φαισά-
να, λάχε τ᾽ Ἀλφεὸν οἰκεῖν·

ἔνθα τραφεῖσ᾽ ὑπ᾽ Ἀπόλλω-
νι γλυκείας πρῶτον ἔψαυσ᾽ Ἀφροδίτας.

οὐδ᾽ ἔλαθ᾽ Αἴπυτον ἐν παν-
τὶ χρόνῳ κλέπτοισα θεοῖο γόνον.
ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν Πυθῶνάδ᾽, ἐν θυμῷ πιέσαις
χόλον οὐ φατὸν ὀξείᾳ μελέτᾳ,
ᾤχετ᾽ ἰὼν μαντευσόμενος ταύ-
τας περ᾽ ἀτλάτου πάθας.
ἁ δὲ φοινικόκροκον ζώναν καταθηκαμένα
κάλπιδά τ᾽ ἀργυρέαν λόχμας ὑπὸ κυανέας
τίκτε θεόφρονα κοῦρον. τᾷ μὲν ὁ χρυσοκόμας
πραΰμητίν τ᾽ Ἐλείθυι-
αν παρέστασ᾽ ἔν τε Μοίρας·

Γ′ ἦλθεν δ᾽ ὑπὸ σπλάγχων ὑπ᾽ ὠ-
δίνεσσ᾽ ἐραταῖς Ἴαμος
ἐς φάος αὐτίκα. τὸν μὲν κνιζομένα
λεῖπε χαμαί· δύο δὲ γλαυκῶπες αὐτόν
δαιμόνων βουλαῖσιν ἐθρέ-
ψαντο δράκοντες ἀμεμφεῖ
ἰῷ μελισσᾶν καδόμενοι. βασιλεὺς δ᾽ ἐπεί
πετραέσσας ἐλαύνων ἵκετ᾽ ἐκ Πυ-
θῶνος, ἅπαντας ἐν οἴκῳ
εἴρετο παῖδα, τὸν Εὐά-
δνα τέκοι· Φοίβου γὰρ αὐτὸν φᾶ γεγάκειν

πατρός, περὶ θνατῶν δ᾽ ἔσεσθαι μάντιν ἐπιχθονίοις
ἔξοχον, οὐδέ ποτ᾽ ἐκλείψειν γενεάν.
ὣς ἄρα μάνυε. τοὶ δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ὢν ἀκοῦσαι
οὔτ᾽ ἰδεῖν εὔχοντο πεμπταῖ-
ον γεγενημένον. ἀλλ᾽ ἐν
κέκρυπτο γὰρ σχοίνῳ βατιᾷ τ᾽ ἐν ἀπειρίτῳ,
ἴων ξανθαῖσι καὶ παμπορφύροις ἀ-
κτῖσι βεβρεγμένος ἁβρόν
σῶμα· τὸ καὶ κατεφάμι-
ξεν καλεῖσθαί νιν χρόνῳ σύμπαντι μάτηρ

τοῦτ᾽ ὄνυμ᾽ ἀθάνατον. τερ-
πνᾶς δ᾽ ἐπεὶ χρυσοστεφάνοιο λάβεν
καρπὸν Ἥβας, Ἀλφεῷ μέσσῳ καταβαὶς
ἐκάλεσσε Ποσειδᾶν᾽ εὐρυβίαν,

ὃν πρόγονον, καὶ τοξοφόρον Δά-
λου θεοδμάτας σκοπόν,
αἰτέων λαοτρόφον τιμάν τιν’ ἐᾷ κεφαλᾷ,
νυκτὸς ὑπαίθριος. ἀντεφθέγξατο δ’ ἀρτιεπής
πατρία ὅσσα, μετάλλασέν τέ νιν. “Ὄρσο, τέκνον,
δεῦρο πάγκοινον ἐς χώ-
ραν ἴμεν φάμας ὄπισθεν.”

Δ′ ἵκοντο δ’ ὑψηλοῖο πέ-
τραν ἀλίβατον Κρονίου
ἔνθα οἱ ὤπασε θησαυρὸν δίδυμον
μαντοσύνας, τόκα μὲν φωνὰν ἀκούειν
ψευδέων ἄγνωτον, εὖτ’ ἂν
δὲ θρασυμάχανος ἐλθών
Ἡρακλέης, σεμνὸν θάλος Ἀλκαϊδᾶν, πατρί
ἑορτάν τε κτίσῃ πλειστόμβροτον τε-
θμόν τε μέγιστον ἀέθλων,
Ζηνὸς ἐπ’ ἀκροτάτῳ βω-
μῷ τότ’ αὖ χρηστήριον θέσθαι κέλευσεν.

ἐξ οὗ πολύκλειτον καθ’ Ἕλ-
λανας γένος Ἰαμιδᾶν·
ὄλβος ἅμ’ ἕσπετο· τιμῶντες δ’ ἀρετάς
ἐς φανερὰν ὁδὸν ἔρχονται· τεκμαίρει
χρῆμ’ ἕκαστον· μῶμος ἐξ ἄλ-
λων κρέμαται φθονεόντων
τοῖς, οἷς ποτε πρώτοις περὶ δωδέκατον δρόμον
ἐλαυνόντεσσιν αἰδοία ποτιστά-
ξῃ Χάρις εὐκλέα μορφάν.
εἰ δ’ ἐτύμως ὑπὸ Κυλλά-
νας ὄρος, Ἀγησία, μάτρωες ἄνδρες

ναιετάοντες ἐδώρη-
σαν θεῶν κάρυκα λιταῖς θυσίαις
πολλὰ δὴ πολλαῖσιν Ἑρμᾶν εὐσεβέως,
ὃς ἀγῶνας ἔχει μοῖράν τ’ ἀέθλων,
Ἀρκαδίαν τ’ εὐάνορα τιμᾷ·
κεῖνος, ὦ παῖ Σωστράτου,
σὺν βαρυγδούπῳ πατρὶ κραίνει σέθεν εὐτυχίαν.
δόξαν ἔχω τιν’ ἐπὶ γλώσσᾳ λιγυρᾶς ἀκόνας,

ἅ μ᾽ ἐθέλοντα προσέρπει καλλιρόαισι πνοαῖς.
ματρομάτωρ ἐμὰ Στυμ-
φαλίς, εὐανθὴς Μετώπα,

Ε′ πλάξιππον ἃ Θήβαν ἔτι-
κτεν, τᾶς ἐρατεινὸν ὕδωρ
πίομαι, ἀνδράσιν αἰχματαῖσι πλέκων
ποικίλον ὕμνον. ὄτρυνον νῦν ἑταίρους,
Αἰνέα, πρῶτον μὲν Ἥραν
Παρθενίαν κελαδῆσαι,
γνῶναί τ᾽ ἔπειτ᾽, ἀρχαῖον ὄνειδος ἀλαθέσιν
λόγοις εἰ φεύγομεν, Βοιωτίαν ὗν.
ἐσσὶ γὰρ ἄγγελος ὀρθός,
ἠϋκόμων σκυτάλα Μοι-
σᾶν, γλυκὺς κρατὴρ ἀγαφθέγκτων ἀοιδᾶν·

εἶπον δὲ μεμνᾶσθαι Συρα-
κοσσᾶν τε καὶ Ὀρτυγίας·
τὰν Ἱέρων καθαρῷ σκάπτῳ διέπων,
ἄρτια μηδόμενος, φοινικόπεζαν
ἀμφέπει Δάματρα λευκίπ-
που τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτάν
καὶ Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος. ἀδύλογοι δέ νιν
λύραι μολπαί τε γινώσκοντι. μὴ θράσ-
σοι χρόνος ὄλβον ἐφέρπων,
σὺν δὲ φιλοφροσύναις εὐ-
ηράτοις Ἀγησία δέξαιτο κῶμον

οἴκοθεν οἴκαδ᾽ ἀπὸ Στυμ-
φαλίων τειχέων ποτινισόμενον,
ματέρ᾽ εὐμήλοιο λείποντ᾽ Ἀρκαδίας.
ἀγαθαὶ δὲ πέλοντ᾽ ἐν χειμερίᾳ
νυκτὶ θοᾶς ἐκ ναὸς ἀπεσκίμ-
φθαι δύ᾽ ἄγκυραι. θεός
τῶνδε κείνων τε κλυτὰν αἶσαν παρέχοι φιλέων.
δέσποτα ποντόμεδον, εὐθὺν δὲ πλόον καμάτων
ἐκτὸς ἐόντα δίδοι, χρυσαλακάτοιο πόσις
Ἀμφιτρίτας, ἐμῶν δ᾽ ὕ-
μνων ἄεξ᾽ εὐτερπὲς ἄνθος.

A′ Setting golden columns underneath the well-built porch
of the chamber,
like when we construct a wondrous hall,
let us build! The façade of our work at its start
we must make visible from afar.
And if a man should be an Olympic victor,
and a steward at the prophetic altar of Zeus in Pisa,
and a co-founder of famous Syracuse,
what hymn of praise could that man escape,
if he meets with townsmen ungrudging in desirable song?

Let him know that his miraculous foot
fits in this sandal—
the son of Sostratos. Deeds of excellence done at no risk
are honored neither among men nor on hollow ships,
but many remember if something noble
is achieved with toil.
Hagesias, for you the praise is ready which once
Adrastos spoke frankly and in justice
for the seer Amphiaraos, son of Oikles,
when the earth swallowed him down,
the man himself along with his shining horses.

Then, when the corpses of seven pyres
had been reckoned up,[48] the son of Talaos
spoke at Thebes a saying like this:
"I am missing the eye of my army,
both a good seer and good at fighting with the spear."
This saying is ready also
for the Syracusan who is master of the revel.
He is neither fond of strife nor overly ambitious,
and swearing a great oath for him of this
I shall give clear witness;
the honey-voiced Muses will approve.

B′ Phintis! Yoke for me now the strength of mules,
as quickly as you can, so that on a clear path
we can make the carriage travel and I can in fact arrive
at the lineage of his family; for they above all

[48] For the translation here, see Kirkwood 1982: 86–87 (following Thummer).

know how to lead the way
along this road, since at Olympia
they received crowns. So then, we must throw open
the gates of hymns for them,
and must arrive on time today
to Pitana at the course of the Eurotas.

She is said to have lain with Poseidon, son of Kronos
and borne Evadne, child with the violet hair.
She hid her maiden birth pangs within the folds of her robes
and in the appointed month she sent attendants and ordered them
to give the infant to the hero son of Eilatos to tend,
who ruled the Arcadians at Phaisana
and whose allotment was to dwell around the Alpheos.
There she was nurtured and in submission to Apollo
first knew sweet Aphrodite.

Nor did her concealment of the god's child
escape the notice of Aipytos for the entire time,
but he, suppressing unspeakable rage in his spirit
through fierce discipline,
went to Pytho to consult the oracle about this
unbearable event.
But she let down her belt of crimson and yellow,
set down her silver pitcher under the dark thicket
and started to bear the boy with godlike mind.
At her side the golden-haired god
set Eileithyia of gentle contrivance
and the Fates as well.

Γ′ He came from the womb in lovely birth pangs
immediately into the light: Iamos. In distress
she left him on the ground, but two grey-eyed serpents,
through the counsels of the gods, nurtured him,
caring for him with the harmless
venom of bees. When the king
drove back from rocky Pytho, he asked
everyone in the house
about the child Evadne had borne.
For he said that he had been born with Phoibos

as his father and would be a preeminent prophet
for mortal men,

nor would his line ever fail.
This, then, was what he revealed, but they claimed
that they had neither heard
nor seen him, although he was born
five days before. But he was hidden
amongst reeds and an immense thicket,
his tender body drenched by the yellow and purple
rays of violets.
And so his mother declared that he would be called
for all of time

by this immortal name. When he had achieved
the fruit of golden-crowned Hebe, he went down
into the middle of the Alpheos
and called on Poseidon whose strength is wide,
his forbear, and on the bow-bearing
watcher of Delos, divinely founded,
requesting for himself an office of care for the people,
at night under the open sky. His father's voice replied readily
and sought him out: "Rouse yourself, my son,
to follow behind my voice here
to the land that receives all."

Δ′ They arrived at the steep rock of the lofty Kronion,
where he gave to him a double treasury
of prophecy: to hear then his voice
unknowing of lies, and when he of the bold contrivance came,
Herakles, the revered offshoot of the sons of Alkaios,
and founded for his father a crowded festival
and the mightiest ordinance of contests,
then in turn at the highest point of Zeus' altar
he commanded him to set his oracle.

From this time the clan of the Iamidai has been
famous among the Greeks.
Prosperity followed also. Honoring excellence
they travel a clear path. Each deed bears witness.
Blame from others who envy hangs
over those on whom, as they drive in first place
around the twelfth circuit of the course,
reverend Grace ever drips the shape of fair fame

But if truly, Hagesias, under Mt. Kyllana
your mother's people

lived and gave piously the herald of the gods,
along with many sacrificial prayers,
many gifts—Hermes,
who controls contests and the dispensation of prizes,
and honors Arcadia and its good men,
it is he, child of Sostratos,
who decrees your good fortune
along with his deep-thundering father.
I have on my tongue an idea like a shrill whetstone.[49]
It creeps over me with the liquid breath of pipes
and I welcome it.
My foremother was from Stymphalos,
flourishing Metopa,

E′ who bore Thebe the driver of horses,
whose lovely water
I shall drink as I weave for spearmen
a variegated hymn. Now urge on your companions,
Aineias, first to celebrate Hera the maiden,
and then to decide if, by our words of truth,
we escape the ancient reproach: "Boiotian pig."
For you are an upright courier,
a message stick of the fair-tressed Muses,
a sweet mixing bowl of resounding songs.

Tell them to remember Syracuse and Ortygia,
which Hieron governs with a pure sceptre.
He thinks perfect thoughts
and tends to Demeter of the red foot
and the festival of her daughter
with her white horses,
and the power of Zeus of Aitna. Sweet-speaking
lyres and choral songs know him.
May future time not disturb his prosperity
and may he receive with lovely festivities Hagesias' revel,

[49] For the interpretation here, see Ruck 1968: 139–141.

as it returns home from its home
at the walls of Stymphalos,
leaving the mother-city of Arcadia with its rich flocks.
On a stormy
night two anchors are good to throw down
from the swift ship. May god
in friendship provide a glorious destiny for these and for them.
Master who rules the sea, grant them a straight passage,
one without troubles, and, husband
of Amphitrite with the golden spindle, always
increase the pleasing flower of my hymns.

The poem begins with a splendid "façade," characterizing the victor as victor, hereditary seer at Olympia, and a "co-founder" of Syracuse. He conforms to the evaluation made of Amphiaraos by Adrastos after the former was swallowed by the earth: a good warrior and a good seer. He is, moreover neither contentious nor overly ambitious. Pindar then calls on Hagesias' charioteer, Phintis, and his triumphant mules to travel the path of song and tell of the victor's lineage. The story begins at Pitana in Lakedaimonia, where Pitana (both a maiden and a place) lay with Poseidon and produced a daughter, Evadne, whom she sent to Arcadia to be reared by King Aipytos. Evadne, in turn, had intercourse with Apollo. King Aipytos noted her pregnancy and in consternation consulted the oracle at Delphi. Meanwhile Evadne delivered and abandoned her baby in a thicket, where he was nursed with honey by two serpents. When Aipytos returned from Delphi he sought the baby, revealing that Apollo himself was the child's father and that the child would be a great seer. After a search the child was found in the thicket surrounded by violets (*ia*) and was therefore called Iamos by his mother. When Iamos reached manhood he prayed to Poseidon and Apollo for "an office of care for the people." This prayer was answered by Apollo, who manifested to the young man as a voice and led him to Olympia, granting that he would hear his voice and that when Herakles founded the Olympic games, he and his descendants would prophesy on the altar of Zeus. The family prospered thereafter. The poet then turns to Hagesias' maternal ancestors, who came from Stymphalos in Arcadia, connecting his own lineage with that community (his foremother, Thebe, was the daughter of Metopa, who also originated in Stymphalos). Now we return to the present, as Pindar calls on Aineias (probably his chorus leader and Pindar's local substitute) to sing a hymn to Hera Parthenia (a goddess particularly associated with Arcadia) and vouch for the success of the ode. Aineias is instructed to have

the chorus remember Syracuse and Hieron, who is to receive the festival *kōmos* in Syracuse when it arrives from Stymphalos. The poem ends with a prayer to Poseidon for safe passage.

My analysis of this ode will have four parts. In the first I shall consider the identity of Hagesias as an Iamid seer and the extent to which this identity can be considered "foundational" for the city of Syracuse. The idea of foundation is taken up again in the next section, which examines how Pindar's road of song maps onto other narratives of migration in the poem. The next step is to evaluate Hieron's reception of Hagesias' *kōmos* in the final triad; even though some interpretations attempt to minimize Hieron's authoritative presence in these lines, I shall argue that he is rightly seen both as the receiver of the *kōmos* and as the honored object of song himself. A final section then reads the ode within the context of other odes for Hieron and for Chromios.[50]

Hagesias the Iamid

The scholia to the ode state that Hagesias participated in many wars with Hieron and served as his seer (schol. ad 30c), and also that he was executed after the fall of the tyrant (schol. ad 165). As Luraghi has observed, both these observations are problematic: the first may well be an inference from Adrastos' praise of Amphiaraos in line 17, while the second seems to conflate the death of Hieron and the fall of the tyranny.[51] Nevertheless, the detail of the execution is not easily derived from the ode itself, so it seems likely enough that Hagesias did indeed have a sufficiently close relationship to Hieron to render his execution after the fall of the Deinomenids plausible. Hagesias' mantic qualifications are linked to his membership in the Iamidai, a family of seers descended from the Iamos whose story is narrated in the ode. Their hereditary privilege was to conduct a form of pyromancy on the great altar of Zeus at Olympia (*O*. 8.2–7, *O*. 6.67–71). We have no reason to believe that Hagesias himself performed this office, but the connection to Olympia is particularly apposite given his victory there; his superior status at the sanctuary is doubly determined and accounts for two of the "pillars" in the poem's splendid opening (Olympic victory and stewardship at the "prophetic altar.") A seer's function, of course, was not confined to such panhellenic occasions. The utility of having a tame seer

[50] As the manuscript of this book was going to press, Meg Foster was kind enough to share with me text of her forthcoming article on Hagesias and *Olympian* 6. It is gratifying to note that she has come to many of the same conclusions as I (though coming at the material from a slightly different starting point: the talismanic authority of the seer).

[51] Luraghi 1997: 84–85.

of good lineage associated with one's polis is illustrated by another Iamid, Teisamenos of Elis, whose services were so desirable to Sparta that he achieved the almost unheard-of privilege of winning Spartan citizenship for himself and his brother.[52] This same Teisamenos was the Greek seer at the Battle of Plataia, where, as Herodotus puts it, he helped the Spartans win one of five greatest contests.[53]

Seers were also valuable when it came to colonial foundation. Although the presence of a seer was not necessary in order to found a colony, Malkin has speculated that a founder would often have been accompanied by a seer.[54] How then should we interpret Pindar's declaration that Hagesias is a "co-founder of famous Syracuse?" This problem already puzzled early commentators, some of whom concluded that one of Hagesias' Iamid ancestors had been part of Archias' original foundation.[55] We have no independent evidence for this, and even if it were true it would not explain why Hagesias too was named a founder of the city. The best explanation connects the characterization with Gelon's re-engineering of the population of Syracuse when he came to power there in 485.[56] It was suggested in Chapter 2 that his intervention could be conceived as a kind of refoundation, and also that there is good evidence for immigration of politically desirable persons (such as athletic victors) from the mainland. We are unfortunately not in a position to say how much of an exaggeration it was for Pindar to call Hagesias a "co-founder," but he was certainly the kind of person who might have played some role in a foundation, and this may well be sufficient.

The comparison of Hagesias to Amphiaraos in lines 12–18 locates him even more precisely in a hierarchy, particularly when one compares the flavor of the mythical allusion here to *Nemean* 9. I suggested above that the narrative of the checkered relationship between Adrastos and Amphiaraos in that poem, with its emphasis on civic strife, exile, and dynastic politics, served as a negative paradigm for the complexities of the relationship between Chromios and Hieron. Chromios could be identified with certain aspects of both Adrastos and Amphiaraos. The situation in *Olympian* 6 is

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[52] Herodotus 9.33–35 and Flower 2008.

[53] Herodotus 9.35 (οὕτω δὴ πέντε σφι μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τεισαμενὸς ὁ Ἠλεῖος, γενόμενος Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταιρέει.). The Battle of Plataia was the first of these "greatest contests;" the others were against Greek foes.

[54] Malkin 1987: 111–112.

[55] Schol. ad *O.* 6.8a, 8b, together with the discussion of Malkin 1987: 93–95.

[56] Wilamowitz 1922: 307; Malkin 1987: 96–97; Luraghi 1997: 76–78. Contra Hutchinson 2001: 379; Flower 2008: 194.

very different. Pindar takes up the tale at its end, with Amphiaraos already swallowed by the earth and the object of postmortem evaluation by his commanding officer. He was the "eye" of Adrastos' army because of his military and mantic skills, and this brief but effective obituary (possibly ready at hand from the cyclic *Thebaid*[57]) can be smoothly transferred to Hagesias, who is, however, very much alive and "master of the revel." Yet the poet is careful to add that Hagesias is not prone to strife or overly ambitious (19). If *Olympian* 6 was written after *Nemean* 9, we can easily see the point of this reassurance: the conflict that could be brought to the surface in another treatment of the myth is notably absent here.[58] Hagesias is master of the revel, but not master of the city, and the evocation of the Adrastos-Amphiaraos pair early in the poem begs the question of who Hagesias' commander might be. This question will be answered by the celebration of Hieron at the end of the poem.

Travel, Migration, and Narrative Space-time

The first triad of the ode has presented the harmonious juxtaposition of past and present, summarizing the various attributes of Hagesias at Syracuse and Olympia that deserve praise and then associating him with a mythological exemplar. Olympic victory, mantic heredity, and a role in the foundation of Syracuse are, as it were, the golden columns supporting the porch in the metaphor that begins the poem. The opening thus presents a façade that is "seen from afar." This glorious present has its roots in the past because Hagesias' qualities (as we shall come to see by the end of the poem) are themselves particularly foundational. This is not merely a pun; nor is it just a reflection of how innate aristocratic excellence is the conceptual underpinning for the victory of many of Pindar's honorands. I have noted already Hagesias' quasi-foundational presence in Syracuse and his doubly determined relationship with Olympia. Once we have heard the story of Iamos, we realize that the oracular presence of the Iamids at Olympia predated the arrival of Herakles and his foundation of the games there. Apollo leads Iamos to the hill of Kronos before there is any sanctuary and sets him to wait for the establishment of the festival (Herakles will "found for his father a crowded festival and the mightiest ordinance of contests," lines 68–69). His gift to his son is a "double treasury" . . . of prophecy (65–66). The image here is no idle one. On the site where in a later age a row of

[57] Wilamowitz 1922: 310; Carne-Ross 1976: 8–9; Hutchinson 2001: 381–382.

[58] Morrison 2007: 107 also notes the coincidence of Amphiaraos from *N*. 9 and *O*. 6 but draws no conclusions from this and is justifiably agnostic about the chronological ordering.

treasuries will celebrate the piety of Greek cities (including Syracuse and Gela), Apollo sets a metaphorical treasury that looks back to the porch of the opening, a treasury of prophecy that supports the achievement of the entire family.[59] The talents of Iamos will form an important component of the festival and games, even though he is not responsible for the foundation. Just so, Hagesias was not the sole founder of Syracuse, but his gifts are important enough that he can be described as a co-founder. When Herakles founded the games, the Iamid gift was there waiting for him, just as it was waiting for the foundation of Syracuse.[60] Calling Hagesias a *synoikist* may be an exaggeration, but it is a conceptually coherent one.

Should we conclude that the building alluded to at the poem's opening is a treasury pure and simple? Commentators have pointed out the similarity of the treasury terminology in the ode to *Pythian* 6.5–18, where the victor and his son are presented with a "treasury of hymns of Pythian victory" whose façade (πρόσωπον, 14) shines out in a "pure light," and that can never be destroyed by the forces of nature.[61] The resonance is certainly striking, but a treasury is not the only possibility. The image in *Pythian* 6 is consistently developed, while in *Olympian* 6 the next triad will bring the striking command to open the "gates of hymns." This suits a treasury less well, because we are meant to think of the opening of the gates as a start to a journey, and the problem follows us if we think of a great house or a palace, or even a temple.[62] It is probably best to follow Bonifazi in concluding that the architectural terminology is not specific.[63] This has a further advantage in that it allows us to bring in other associations. We might, for example, want to the think of the façade of Hagesias' house in Syracuse, or even Hieron's palace, where the festal celebration is heading. And there is a further possibility. We saw in Chapter 2 Athenaeus (11.462b) reporting a Syracusan ritual that involved sailing away from the city until the shield on the Temple of Athena could not be seen. This piece of information implies that the shield on the temple pediment might be one's first view of Syracuse when arriving by sea.[64] The closing lines

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[59] Froidefond 1989: 36.

[60] Similarly, the comparison of Amphiaraos to Hagesias is "ready" (ἑτοῖμος, 12); the past awaits reanimation by the present (cf. Goldhill 1991: 148).

[61] For the treasury, see Froidefond 1989: 36. For the echo of *Pythian* 6, see Carne-Ross 1976: 6; Hutchinson 2001: 376.

[62] For a house/palace, see Wilamowitz 1922: 310; Ruck 1968: 138–141; Carne-Ross 1976: 6; Kirkwood 1982: 85.

[63] Bonifazi 2001: 105.

[64] See Marconi 2007: 50–51, 57–58, 194–195 for the importance of temples as major landmarks built to impress foreigners arriving at Sicilian cities (Syracuse, Gela, Selinous) by sea.

of the ode pray to Poseidon for a straight passage to Syracuse. If, then, we think of Aineias (and, conceptually if not literally, the chorus) sailing from the Peloponnese to Syracuse, the vision of a temple front may be in their future—and they bring the song that is the poetic counterpart to this vision.

If the first triad presents the façade of present glory, the second creates a transition to the narration of the past by the conceit that Phintis, the victorious driver of Hagesias' mule cart, will yoke his team and travel on the clear path that will tell the story of Hagesias' Iamid lineage. The mules know the way because they have won the crown at Olympia; they know the link that joins Hagesias' present to the origins of his clan. Pindar thus calls for the "gates of hymns" (27) to be opened for them and heads for Pitana on the Eurotas, the place where Pitana had intercourse with Poseidon. The metaphor of the chariot of poetry and the road of songs is, as several have observed, an old one.[65] What is particularly successful here is that Pindar has combined this traditional image with a real one: Hagesias' mules and their movement to, from, and in Olympia. Their movement in the recent past is superimposed on the poet's narrative journey, and this narrative journey will tell in turn stories of travel and migration from the heroic past. The narrative and discursive levels are thus very complex and have been the object of fruitful study ever since Carne-Ross' 1976 article showed how the central three triads of the ode all superimpose real and poetic journeys, one on another.[66] Temporal progress becomes spatial progress, and the fantastic deixis of the myth presents realistically things that are treated as metaphors in the present.[67] The mules that have traveled to Olympia and back take us through the gates of hymns into to the past, to Pitana, who sends Evadne to Arcadia.[68] Evadne's pregnancy causes King Aipytos to travel to Delphi and back. Iamos finds his father Apollo by the Alpheos

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[65] Garner 1992: 49–50; Calame 2009: 16. Garner observes that Bacchylides and Pindar "frequently used the image of the Muses' chariot in songs for victors of chariot races," but the examples that he gives (Bacch. 5.175 ff., *O*. 9.81–82, and *P*. 10.64–65) do not come from odes for chariot victories. *O*. 6 is thus a particularly pointed use of the motif; Bonifazi (2001: 118) points out that the mules here both are and are not metaphorical.

[66] Carne-Ross 1976: 20.

[67] Bonifazi 2001: 111–125; cf. Calame 2009: 16–19.

[68] Flower (2008: 200–201) has recently revived Wilamowitz's connection (1886: 162–185) of Pitana in *Olympian* 6 with the possible settlement of the Iamid seer Teisamenos in Pitana after he became a Spartan citizen. If the connection holds we might be inclined to see Hagesias as a lesser western version of Teisamenos. Just as Teisamenos helped the Spartans win the "five greatest contests," so Hagesias may have helped the Deinomenids win their own fairest victories (see Chapter 4).

and is commanded to follow him to Olympia and meet his destiny.[69] This destiny causes the Iamids to travel a "clear path" (73) of excellence through the ages. Hagesias' maternal ancestors come from Stymphalos and he has moved from there to Syracuse, where Hieron is now waiting to receive his victory *kōmos*, which is in turn conceived as traveling from Stymphalos to Syracuse, "from home to home" (99). Finally, Pindar's own civic nymph, Theba, is the daughter of Stymphalian Metopa, implying yet another migration, this time from Stymphalos to Thebes.

This is a tour de force of narrative subtlety, integrating the traditional material of the path of song and poetic chariot with the conditions of victory and formulating the whole such that it reinforces the theme of migration so important for colonial contexts and for Hagesias himself. The mythological narrative progresses westward through the Peloponnese, its goal Olympia. Hagesias' maternal family, rooted in Arcadia, produces an offspring who migrates to Sicily while also retaining ties to Olympia that result in triumph at the games there. Migration to the west does not cause the victor to lose his past but intensifies it, so that its energy is funneled toward Syracuse (we may compare the opening of *Nemean* 1, where the Alpheos emerges in Syracuse) and ultimately toward Hieron. Hagesias' Syracusan identity is indeed "visible from afar."

Hieron in (and as) Syracuse

Unlike *Nemeans* 1 and 9, where Hieron's presence in the background may be only charitably inferred, *Olympian* 6 makes specific mention of the tyrant in the final triad. Lines 74–82 in the previous triad had brought the praise of Hagesias to its culmination, dismissing the envy that attends those who drive in first place on the twelfth and final lap of the race, and firmly locating Hagesias' origins in a Stymphalian context under the protection of Hermes and Zeus. Pindar makes the transition to Hieron and Syracuse by a series of commands to his chorus trainer Aineias, a name whose explicit mention here may owe something to its similarity to the word for praise, *ainos*.[70] The chorus is first to sing a hymn to Hera Parthenia (a cult of Hera with particularly Arcadian associations) and then to decide if the poet has escaped the ancient slur of being a "Boiotian pig" (87–90). Their second set of tasks is to remember Syracuse and Ortygia, where Hieron governs (93–97). We may never know all the implications of being

[69] Ruck 1968: 137–138 observes that Apollo's command to Iamos (a personal address followed by a command to travel, 62–64) echoes the poet's orders to Phintis (20–22).
[70] Too 1991: 263; Bonifazi 2001: 141–143.

a Boiotian pig (although they surely include rusticity and boorishness—a certain epichoric limitation), but it is clear that this charge is to be counteracted performatively by the poet's proclaimed subtlety and variegation (*poikilon hymnon*, 87).[71] It is also clear that the move to Syracuse is in part a move from the local identities and cults of the mainland (Hera Parthenia and Thebes) to western ones: Syracuse and Ortygia (92), Demeter and Persephone (94–95), and Zeus of Aitna (96). The hymn's variety consists in the careful weaving together of mainland past (though still active in the here and now) and Sicilian present. This idea is repeated when the poet calls Aineias a "sweet mixing bowl of resounding songs."

The productive interaction of the mainland and Sicily is reinforced by the fruitfully ambiguous presentation of the performance context and chorus. Is the hymn to Hera Parthenia identical with the current song or separate from it? Is the *kōmos* really traveling from Stymphalos to Syracuse as we might imagine from lines 98–100, and does this imply that the ode's primary performance location was Arcadia with a reperformance at Syracuse? Or are we to think primarily of a performance at Syracuse with a purely conceptual link to Stymphalos?[72] Does the mention of a festival of Demeter imply performance at such a Syracusan festival?[73] It is difficult to rule out any possibility, and therefore perhaps advisable to concentrate on the message communicated by the rhetoric of the passage: that the victory song is at home in a festival and ritual context and that we are to imagine group movement from east to west, expressed both in the travel and the reception of the *kōmos* and in the prayer to Poseidon for a safe sea passage. Whether or not the ode was actually performed in Stymphalos, the proliferation of Arcadian references presents a lively impression of celebration there. Yet the arrival in Syracuse is prominent and climactic in the poem; it is the goal of motion.

Nothing could be more obtrusive than the introduction of Syracuse and Hieron at the beginning of the final antistrophe. The second-person address to Aineias had markedly reinforced the poet's own implication

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[71] For a very different interpretation of "Boiotian pig" (or rather, "sow") that makes it a comment by the chorus *disavowing* a relationship with Pindar, see Stehle 1997: 167.

[72] For the hymn to Hera as identical with *O*. 6: Carey 1989: 556–557; Too 1991; Hutchinson 2001: 413–415. For the hymn as a separate occasion: Heath 1988: 191. For detailed discussion, and a slight preference for a separate hymn: Bonifazi 2001: 134–149. Primary performance in Arcadia: Stehle 1997: 160–169 (for whom—in contrast to my present interpretation—the point of the ode is to integrate Hagesias into an Arcadian community that is not his own). Primary performance in Syracuse: Hutchinson 2001: 424; Morrison 2007: 71–72, 106–108. Dual performance: Carne-Ross 1976: 7.

[73] Morrison 2007: 108; Calame 2009: 22.

in the poetic program of the song, as well as the transmission of this program. He moved from Arcadian cult song to the proclamation of his expertise and thence to the evocation of Syracuse, so that praise of the city and its ruler should be closely associated with his own poetic identity. Hieron's rule is characterized sacrally. He manages the city "with a pure sceptre," thinks perfect thoughts, and celebrates religious festivals; a local audience would remember that he was a hereditary priest of the rites of Demeter and Persephone. The direction changes somewhat halfway though line 96: "Sweet-speaking lyres and choral songs know him," a comment that is followed by a prayer for his prosperity and the wish that he may kindly receive Hagesias' *kōmos* as it arrives from Stymphalos. This is an extraordinary elaboration for someone who is not the victor in the ode.[74] Besides the picture of a sacral king, we receive comment on the cultural milieu in which Hieron is embedded (lyres and songs) and see him characterized as the authoritative goal of the victory procession. This emphasis has caused discomfort for some interpreters, given that we might normally expect a city or divinity to receive the *kōmos*. An alternative is to read *nin* in line 96 as Ortygia/Syracuse. We would then interpret that lyres and songs know the city and could take "Time" as the subject of the two optatives in lines 97 and 98.[75] This last option seems undesirable. Time plays many roles in Pindaric epinician, but it is hard to see receiving the *kōmos* as one of them.

Might Syracuse, however, be a more satisfactory referent for the pronoun *nin*? Pindar did, after all, expect that the city of Aitna would be "famous for sweet-voiced festivities" (*P.* 1.37–38). Such a conservative expedient runs the risk of downplaying Hieron's considerable cultural presence and the reputation of his court—a reputation that was of great concern to both Pindar and Bacchylides. We have already seen at *Olympian* 1.14–15 that Hieron glories in and is glorified in exceptional music. The opening of Bacchylides 5—from 476, like *Olympian* 1—comments that Hieron, if any one, will recognize the pleasing gift of the Muses. Bacchylides 3.70–71 (which belongs to 468, possibly the same year as *Olympian* 6) repeats the collocation of the scepter and the violet-tressed Muses when expanding on Hieron's good fortune. All these passages stress Hieron's musical connoisseurship, and it therefore comes as no surprise to see the same idea repeated in *Olympian* 6. Given the focus on the sacral side of Hieron's rule and the purity of his scepter, it is not inappropriate to envision him as

[74] Cf. Luraghi 1997: 83–84.
[75] Friis Johansen 1973; Hutchinson 2001: 419–420.

the receiver of the *kōmos*[76]; his wielding of the scepter and ritual authority does much to close the gap between the individual and the city he represents (cf. Pitana in the poem, who is both person and place). Hieron is a more appropriate verbal subject for the verb of reception than "Time" since the choice to welcome and reward his returning associate is in fact his; we have been waiting for his approbation ever since Hagesias was cast as Amphiaraos to his Adrastos in the first triad.

If, moreover, *Olympian* 6 belongs to the same year as Hieron's long-awaited Olympic chariot victory (468), we can reread lines 74–76 in another light. There we learned that "blame from others who envy hangs over those on whom, as they drive in first place around the twelfth circuit of the course, reverend Grace ever drips the shape of fair fame." I have already had occasion to refer to the views of those who see in these lines an assimilation of Hagesias' mule race to the four-horse chariot race.[77] Read in this light, the lines exaggerate the prestige of Hagesias' triumph. If the ode is correctly placed in 468, however, they can refer to Hieron's victory as well. Mule cart victory is to four-horse chariot victory as Hagesias is to Hieron,[78] and if blame from the envious surrounds Hagesias, it will of course do the same for Hieron. Both will rise above it. Hagesias will, the poet hopes, meet with fellow citizens who do not grudge him his song (7), and the embedding of Hieron's ruling preeminence in the ode confirms that all is harmony between ruler and associate when one casts a political gaze up as well as down.[79]

Olympian 6 and Its Intertexts

Pindar's ode for Hagesias shares several similarities with his other Sicilian odes. These need not always be significant, but they may indicate a sophisticated musical community, in Syracuse and perhaps even throughout Sicily, that could appreciate thematic repetition and variation. Andrew Morrison's monograph on the multiple audiences of Pindar's Sicilian odes has done much to elucidate these relationships. Thus, as we have seen, both *Nemean* 9 and *Olympian* 6 share the figure of Amphiaraos and the contrasting treatments of the prophetic hero correspond to a differing emphasis

[76] See Garner 1992: 50–58 for a detailed consideration of ritual and mystic purity in *O*. 6 and elsewhere in Pindar.
[77] See note 6.
[78] Nicholson 2005: 83.
[79] Cf. Nicholson 2005: 92–94 for the plotting of hierarchies here (although I am unconvinced by the suggestion that aristocratic hierarchies might be disturbed rather than reinforced).

on the questions of civil strife and hierarchy in the two odes. Similarly, both *Nemean* 1 and *Olympian* 6 feature the birth of a hero (Herakles and Iamos respectively) who emerges into the light from his mother's womb (*N.* 1.35–36: ἐπεὶ σπλάγχνων ὕπο ματέρος αὐτίκα θαητὰν ἐς αἴγλαν παῖς Διός ὠδῖνα φεύγων διδύμῳ σὺν κασιγνήτῳ μόλεν vs. *O.* 6.43–44: ἦλθεν δ' ὑπὸ σπλάγχων ὑπ' ὠδίνεσσ' ἐραταῖς Ἴαμος ἐς φάος αὐτίκα) and shortly afterward has an encounter with two snakes (maleficent for Herakles and benign for Iamos). Both poems refer to Zeus Aitnaios, and both feature a prophet.[80] Morrison considers that the purpose of these echoes is to associate Herakles and Iamos closely; we may then conclude either that these particular myths and scenes were popular or that Pindar is aware of the circulation of his odes and is presuming that his audiences will be able to pick up on the connections.[81] We may add that both present a hero who is characterized as a successful auxiliary to a superior figure: Herakles to Zeus in *Nemean* 1 and in *Olympian* 6 Amphiaraos to Adrastos and Iamos (more indirectly) to Herakles—suitable mythological positioning for Hieron's associates.

Olympian 6 also presents a happier version of part of the storyline from *Pythian* 3. In the latter Koronis has an affair with Apollo but is unfaithful to him. She is unable to hide her transgression from the god (οὐδ' ἔλαθε σκοπόν, *P.* 3.27) and receives condign punishment. In *Olympian* 6 Evadne also sleeps with Apollo and becomes pregnant with his child. She is unable to hide her pregnancy from King Aipytos (οὐδ' ἔλαθ' Αἴπυτον *O.* 6.36–37), who leaves for Delphi in a rage.[82] What might be at stake in this parallel other than the pleasures of refined recognition? Failure to conceal (what is seen as) a transgression from an authority figure is a favored theme in the Syracusan odes. Apart from the examples just listed, one could add *Nemean* 1.37–40 and *Olympian* 1.63–64. In the former, the birth of Herakles does not escape the notice of Hera, who sends serpents to kill him (ὡς τ' οὐ λαθὼν χρυσόθρονον Ἥραν κροκωτὸν σπάργανον ἐγκατέβα· ἀλλὰ θεῶν βασιλέα σπερχθεῖσα θυμῷ πέμπε δράκοντας). In *Olympian* 1 the verbal reminiscence is not so close, but once again a mortal (in this case Tantalos) unsuccessfully tries to conceal his activity (εἰ δὲ θεὸν ἀνήρ τις ἔλπεταί <τι > λαθέμεν ἔρδων, ἁμαρτάνει). My previous discussion of *Olympian* 1 and *Pythian* 3 has suggested that the narratives of failed transgression there model closeness with the divine frustrated by the human inability properly to manage

[80] Morrison 2007: 76–77.
[81] Morrison 2007: 107–108.
[82] Hutchinson 2001: 390; Morrison 2007: 107.

divine favor. They serve as negative paradigms for a tyrant like Hieron, who, despite his good fortune, must remember that his position gives him special responsibilities and special opportunities for transgression. In *Nemean* 1, on the other hand, divine wrath is thwarted and the hero ends up enjoying immortality and divine commensality, perhaps precisely because he is not in the same situation of dangerous power as Hieron is. In Hagesias' ode (where the victor is explicitly given lower status vis-à-vis Hieron), the situation is even more benign. The authority figure is not a god but a mortal king. Although he is, like his divine counterparts, angry when he discovers Evadne's troubling condition, he does not act hastily but instead suppresses his rage and consults that ultimate source of authority, the Delphic oracle. The result is a long line of preeminent seers acting under the patronage of Apollo. This is a comfortable model for kingly action: Aipytos cannot be fooled, but he is well in control of himself and the situation.[83]

One final set of parallels deserves special mention, that between *Olympians* 1 and 6. The fundamental point of contact between these two odes has long been recognized: in both, a young hero at the beginning of manhood approaches water alone in the darkness and calls on a patron god for aid.[84] In *Olympian* 1 Pelops invokes Poseidon on the seashore (*O*. 1.71–73: ἐγγὺς {δ'} ἐλθὼν πολιᾶς ἁλὸς οἷος ἐν ὄρφνᾳ ἄπυεν βαρύκτυπον Εὐτρίαιναν) and in *Olympian* 6 Iamos wades into the middle of the Alpheos and calls on Poseidon and Apollo (*O*. 6.57–60: Ἀλφεῷ μέσσῳ καταβαὶς ἐκάλεσσε Ποσειδᾶν' εὐρυβίαν, ὃν πρόγονον, καὶ τοξοφόρον Δάλου θεοδμάτας σκοπόν, αἰτέων λαοτρόφον τιμάν τιν' ἑᾷ κεφαλᾷ, νυκτὸς ὑπαίθριος). In both, a god appears in answer to their prayer: Poseidon in person to Pelops and the voice of Apollo to Iamos. The motif of a young hero's prayer in or by water may be traditional, as Kakridis has suggested, but (as he again observed) Pindar has elaborated it differently in the two poems.[85] Yet even if Pindar is reworking a traditional scene, it is notable that this occurs in two poems for close associates separated by less than a decade. Carey comments that "it is reasonable to surmise that the self-imitation in *O*. 6 is deliberate and that it reflects either the general popularity of the earlier ode or Hagesias' admiration for it."[86] We may be

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[83] Cole 1992: 129 supposes that the preoccupations with slander, adulation, and challenges to monarchy usually found in royal odes are absent from *Olympian* 6, yet the ode is quite explicit in its presentation of mythological and historical power relationships.

[84] Kakridis 1928: 426–429; Carne-Ross 1976: 19; Kirkwood 1982: 90; Froidefond 1989: 41; Garner 1992: 63; Carey 1993: 106–107; Hutchinson 2001: 401.

[85] Kakridis 1928: 426–429.

[86] Carey 1993: 106–107.

able to go even further. An audience that remembered *Olympian* 1 would gain an additional level of appreciation for the poet's subtlety and charm. Hieron's "pure sceptre" in line 93 should remind us of the "sceptre of justice" he wielded in the earlier poem (*O.* 1.12). Whereas Pelops calls on Poseidon alone, Iamos calls on Poseidon (listed first), and then on Apollo, who comes almost as a conscious supplement. Apollo leads Iamos to "the steep rock of the lofty Kronion" (64) and promises him a role on the altar of Zeus. This is the same altar next to which Pelops in *Olympian* 1 reclines (next to the Alpheos), and at the end of that ode the poet had hoped to come to come to the same Kronion in order to celebrate the chariot victory at Olympia he was sure Hieron would win (*O.* 1.109–111). If *Olympian* 6 is earlier than 468, these allusions might graciously maintain a suitable atmosphere for Hieron's Olympic hopes. If the ode is rightly placed in the year of Hieron's chariot victory, backward glances to the earlier composition would be a compliment to Hieron, even though Pindar did not compose a victory song for his ultimate triumph. Together with the tyrant's reception of Hagesias' *kōmos* toward the end of the ode, the links between the two songs help to establish and enrich the relationship between Hagesias and Hieron mediated by the poet.

Conclusion

These three odes for Hieron's henchmen illuminate the range of responses possible for the poet when celebrating their achievements and their place in the world of Syracuse. Given their status with regard to Hieron, Chromios and Hagesias diplomatically entered prestigious events in lesser contests or less prestigious events at major contests. We cannot know whether or not they were encouraged to compete, but their victories all contributed to the greater glory of Hieron's Syracuse and his new foundation at Aitna. *Nemean* 1 is the least complex of the three in terms of political embeddedness, connecting Chromios unproblematically with the world of Sicilian success, elite hospitality, and forceful military action. Hieron, if present at all, figures only distantly as an analogue for Zeus, an ultimate authority figure and dispenser of reward. We see here none of the anxiety that sometimes surrounds the interaction of mortals with the divine.

Nemean 9 takes another approach, one connected with the strategies of *Pythian* 1 and, like that ode, closely tied to the new polis of Aitna. The possibility of faction and internal dissension in the polis is an important aspect of the myth of Adrastos and Amphiaraos, and the narrative trajectory of

that myth takes us to the ruin caused by inter-polis warfare. Outside the myth, such faction is played off against the external threat posed by the Phoenicians, and Chromios figures (via a clever manipulation of history and mythological exempla) as the solution for both these potential problems. Once again Hieron has no explicit presence, but the dynastic politics of the myth aimed at his brother-in-law, together with its evocation of intra-elite rivalry (whose application in the present is explicitly rejected by the singer) present issues in which he was deeply implicated.

In *Olympian* 6, perhaps because he was less intimately tied to Hagesias than to Chromios, Hieron emerges from the background. This ode shares with *Nemean* 9 the figures of Amphiaraos and Adrastos, but their story is reduced to context for a laudatory evaluation of a seer by the commander of the host. Hagesias and his clan the Iamids are favored but auxiliary players in larger narratives (the foundation of the Olympics and Syracuse). Hieron himself presides over the close of this ode; his city and the musical glories of his court are the goal of the festive celebration. There are thus large differences in the levels of political anxiety expressed in the odes and in the obtrusiveness of Hieron's presence. All of them, however, share movement toward Syracuse or Aitna. Given the importance of the motif of return of the victor from the games to his city, this might not be considered significant; thus in *Nemean* 1 the singer stands at the courtyard door and will shortly be admitted to the dinner that awaits him, a situation that could occur in any ode (although, as we have seen, the prominence of the Alpheos at the opening of the ode reinforces a movement from the mainland to Syracuse). In *Nemean* 9 and *Olympian* 6, however, the motif is more marked and can be connected with colonial movement. The festive procession of Chromios' victory celebration (*kōmasomen*, 1) moves to "newly founded Aitna," as though the *kōmos* were a reflection of the impetus of colonization. Hagesias is so recent an immigrant to Syracuse that his *kōmos* is conceived as moving from one home (Stymphalos) to another, and he is himself presented as a "co-founder" of the city. Olympia, Nemea, Sikyon, Stymphalos—all fall under the influence of a western center of gravity.

Conclusion

PINDAR'S ODES FOR HIERON of Syracuse are an emphatic intervention in the construction of a monarchical persona for this most ambitious tyrant. It may be useful to conclude this book by observing just how consistent they are in the pursuit of this program, and I shall approach this project through comparison. In Chapters 6 and 8, I pointed out that Bacchylides' songs for Hieron are somewhat reticent when it comes to Hieron's political position; they are thus a useful contrast for Pindar's Syracusan oeuvre. Bacchylides' fifth epinician calls Hieron "general," gives him an extravagant invocation almost worthy of a divinity, and sets him in a frame of Hesiodic kingship. Hieron's preeminence is a matter of delicate implication. In Bacchylides' fourth epinician Hieron seems to be characterized by a superlative vaunt as the only mortal to have won three Pythian (hippic) victories. The shadow of monarchy falls longest on the third epinician, where Hieron is said to have a prerogative of the "greatest rule" (*pleistarchon*, 3.12) and holds the scepter of Zeus (3.70). He is again characterized by a superlative vaunt: no Greek has ever sent more gold to Apollo (although Kroisos is the overall winner in the category of gifts to Delphi, 3.58–66). Bacchylides never calls Hieron *basileus*, however.[1]

The occurrence of the superlative vaunts is notable, but notable also is how they are restricted to winning the most athletic victories in a certain category, and to the greatest number of pious gifts among the Greeks. We may compare the former with *Olympian* 13.30–31, where Xenophon of Corinth is declared to have been the only person to win the *stadion* race and pentathlon in a single day, and *Nemean* 6.25, where Pindar declares that the family of the victor has won the most boxing crowns. For parallels

[1] Mann 2001: 270.

to the latter we may cite *Olympian* 3.39–40, when Pindar infers that glory has come to Theron of Akragas and the Emmenidai because they have approached the Dioskouroi with the greatest number of banquet tables at festivals of *theoxenia*.

In all these cases the category of the superlative is somewhat circumscribed; it would be possible theoretically to check the calculation.[2] When it comes to Pindar's superlative vaunts for Hieron, the tone is rather different. At *Olympian* 1.103–105 we are presented with a vaunt that is, it is true, circumscribed: Pindar will glorify in his hymns no other mortal—of those alive now—who is more authoritative in his power and knowledgeable of good things. Despite the qualification, however, we should remark the wide scope of the boast: not the number of victories or offerings or banquets, but power and cultural knowledge. At *Pythian* 1.48–50 Hieron and his family win honor (*tima*) whose like no other Greek has experienced. At *Pythian* 2.59–61 we learn that no previous Greek has been his superior in either honor or possessions (κτεάτεσσί τε καὶ περὶ τιμᾷ). Power, honor, and wealth: these are not easily quantifiable, and their very generality puts them in a different class. These are more ambitious claims than the other vaunts we have considered. Hieron is the most honored, the wealthiest, the most powerful man in the contemporary Greek world. Pindar's only other superlative vaunt along these lines concerns Theron of Akragas, than whom no city within a hundred years has produced a greater benefactor to his friends or a man more ungrudging in his generosity (φίλοις ἄνδρα μᾶλλον εὐεργέταν πραπίσιν ἀφθονέστερόν τε χέρα, *O*. 2.93–95). This praise for Theron coheres nicely with the similar declaration in *Olympian* 3 concerning the pious hospitality of the Emmenidai toward the Dioskouroi. The vaunts for Theron focus on a different aspect of mortal excellence: benefaction, generosity, and hospitality. Hieron's profile is higher and emphasizes power.[3]

Pindar's odes for the Emmenidai of Akragas demonstrate nicely that his approach to Hieron and his monarchy was not predetermined. Theron had come to power in 488 and won his Olympic chariot victory in 476

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[2] See Maehler 1982 vol. 2: 76 for limiting the superlative vaunt; he observes that Bacchylides does not in fact limit Hieron's achievement as much as we might expect, given that Hieron's three victories are the most only when it comes to hippic competition.

[3] I would thus want to modify Morrison's understanding (2007: 85) of two superlative vaunts for Sicilian tyrants (*O*. 2. 93–95 for Theron and *Olympian* 1.103–105 for Hieron). Acknowledging their formal similarity, but admitting that they are "by no means identical in content," he suggests that Theron and Hieron might have been engaged in "some form of 'capping' competition" when it came to such vaunts. But the two vaunts seem to me to be importantly different in implication.

(generating *Olympians* 2 and 3). As we saw in Chapter 2, the various victories of his brother Xenokrates were also celebrated by Pindar, who channeled his praise in this instance through Xenokrates' son Thrasyboulos (*Pythian* 6, *Isthmian* 2, fr. 124a, b). These odes have much to say about Emmenid wealth and benefaction. Besides the vaunts already considered above, we learn that Theron is just in his regard for guests, the bulwark of his city, and the culmination of a line of glorious ancestors, one who sets his city upright (*O*. 2.6–7). These ancestors are connected to the family of Laios and so have a mainland mythological pedigree (*O*. 2.8–11, 38–47). *Pythian* 6 focuses on Thrasyboulos' filial devotion to his father and employs the quasi-superlative vaunt, that of men today Thrasyboulos has come closest to the standard set by the mythological character Antilochos in this regard (*P.* 6.43–45). He follows in the footsteps of his uncle Theron when it comes to festive splendor, uses his wealth intelligently, is musically sophisticated, and is neither unjust nor arrogant (*P.* 6.46–49). *Isthmian* 2 calls Xenokrates a light to the people of Akragas (*I.* 2.17) and further characterizes him as revered by the citizens, sweet-tempered, a generous host, and a keeper of horses in the panhellenic tradition (*I.* 2.35–40). We note first that Emmenid victories are very much a family affair. *Olympian* 2 for Theron acknowledges the successes of Xenokrates at the Isthmus and Delphi (*O*. 2.49–51), while *Isthmian* 2 continues the narrative of Xenokrates' successes at the Isthmus, Delphi, and Athens by referring to Olympic honors won by Theron (*I.* 2.12–29). As Monessa Cummins observes, Pindar here, while keeping his focus firmly on the *laudandus,* exploits the value of fraternal victory and in *Isthmian* 2 generalizes the victory to include the sons of Ainesidamos (the father of Theron and Xenokrates).[4] On this front, we can contrast the elision of Gelon from Pindar's odes for Hieron.[5]

It is notable that the odes for the Emmenidai focus on social virtues: relationships characterized by *aidōs*, hospitality, justice, piety, and the correct use of wealth for horse rearing and entertainment. Of the family tyranny, however, there is scarcely any trace. This comes as no surprise in the case of *Pythian* 6, which dates to 490, before Theron became tyrant. Yet even *Olympians* 2 and 3 (from 476, the same year as *Olympian* 1 for Hieron) are similarly reserved. Theron is the bulwark of his city and keeps it upright. He is never called king, however, and is not characterized as a ruler.[6] One of Pindar's odes for the Battiad king of Cyrene, Arkesilaos,

[4] Cummins 2010a, 2010b: 11.
[5] See Chapter 8 and Cummins 2010b.
[6] Cf. Harrell 2002: 440–441; cf. Luraghi 2011: 30.

refers to the prosperity of Battos (founder of the line) as a "tower" (*purgos, P*. 5.56) and a brilliant light, literally an eye, *omma*, for strangers, just as the Emmenidai were the eye of Sicily (*P*. 5.56 and *O*. 2.9–10), but this in a wider context where the Battidai are specifically labeled as kings (*P*. 5.15, 97). There is nothing in the Emmenid odes that could not be extravagant praise of a wealthy and powerful aristocrat in an oligarchy.[7]

The only odes that lay comparable emphasis on monarchy are *Pythians* 4 and 5 for Arkesilaos of Cyrene. Here we find Pindar highlighting the long family tradition of divinely destined royalty. To the references to the Battidai as kings in *Pythian* 5, we may add from *Pythian* 4 Pindar's opening evocation of Arkesilaos as king (*P*. 4.2), and the Pythia's salutation of Battos as fated king (πεπρωμένον βασιλέ', *P*. 4.61–62.). In that poem Arkesilaos is additionally described as a "healer" (*iatēr, P*. 4.270), presumably in light of the poet's hopes that the king will recall the exiled Damophilos, and his intelligence is "straight-counselling" (*P*. 4.262). Like Hieron, Arkesilaos is endowed with power, and in his case it is awarded by god (θεόσδοτον δύναμιν, *P*. 5.13). Like Hieron, he combines his power with intelligence (*P*. 5.12–14). Indeed, the Battidai as a group rule with justice (*themiskreontōn, P*. 5.29). The conclusion to *Pythian* 5 (109–112) summarizes Arkesilaos' qualities again and at some length: his intelligence and maturity (cf. *P*. 2.63–67), his courage (like that of an eagle), his strength (like a bulwark), and his musical cultivation. A favorable god brings his power to fulfillment (θεός τέ οἱ τὸ νῦν τε πρόφρων τελεῖ δύνασιν, *P*. 5.117). The entire close of the ode, with its prayer for future success at Olympia and declaration of divine supervision over the affairs of the victor, is comparable to the ending of *Olympian* 1. Pindar's songs for Arkesilaos combine the stress on regal power and its virtuous adornments that we have seen in the Hieron odes with the accentuation of lengthy family tradition from the Emmenid odes. The latter is of course a reflection of Arkesilaos' status as hereditary monarch, a prerogative that Hieron was far from being able to claim.[8]

The political world of Cyrene in *Pythians* 4 and 5 seems serene, although the monarchy there was soon to fall, and some political strain may be seen in the exile of Damophilos, who probably commissioned *Pythian* 4 in the hope of recall. Arkesilaos' prosperity can be examined under two distinct rubrics. He is blessed because he has the rule of great cities as an hereditary

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[7] Luraghi 2011: 31–32 comes to a similar conclusion about the Emmenids in Pindar's poetry. Kurke 1991: 256 speculates that the integrative tone of *Isthmian* 2 may be a function of its possible composition after the fall of the Emmenid tyranny ca. 471 B.C.

[8] Harrell 2002: 448–449. Luraghi 1994: 354–360, 2011: 35 (contrasting Arkesilaos and Hieron), and Mann 2001: 286 all see Pindar's goal as assimilating Hieron to models of hereditary monarchy.

prerogative, and also because he has won a Pythian chariot victory. When Pindar presents this evaluation near the beginning of *Pythian* 5 (14–22), he clearly distinguishes between ancestral monarchy and the current good fortune of panhellenic success (τὸ μέν, ὅτι βασιλεύς ἐσσί . . . μάκαρ δὲ καὶ νῦν). With Hieron, the situation is more complicated. As we have seen in the previous chapters, there is a systematic exploration of the perils of monarchy, both the dangers posed by envious, deceitful, and flattering subjects and those that arise within the person of the monarch himself (these last projected into the realm of myth and constructed as an inverted mirror to Hieron's own conduct). We have seen precise attention to incidents of military intervention that showcase Hieron's influence outside Syracuse (Himera, Epizephyrian Lokroi, Kumai).[9] We have seen the monarch in *Pythian* 1 as founder and institutor of a Dorian constitution. The areas of his preeminence cannot be neatly separated out into ancestral prerogatives on the one hand and recent athletic victory on the other. In fact, if the arguments made in this book have any purchase, Hieron's athletic victories act as an authorizing sign of his right to power. We can compare the picture of Arkesilaos from *Pythian* 5 just cited with the presentation of Hieron in *Pythian* 1. Arkesilaos' Pythian success is a new ornament to his hereditary status. Hieron, by contrast, uses his Pythian victory as a sign of status for his new city of Aitna, and he adds to this the role of founder, which in the case of Cyrene belongs to Battos several generations past.

It is precisely because Syracuse was not a hereditary monarchy, whatever Hieron's aspirations, that Pindar's odes for Hieron needed to think through issues of regal power.[10] The odes for Hieron are extraordinary in that they do not focus on the idea of inherited excellence, a theme so marked in Pindar's other odes, and one that is obtrusive in his celebration of Theron of Akragas in *Olympian* 2.[11] Hieron was the second holder of a family tyranny that was not even native to the city, and his brother had taken the city by a combination of military pressure and a coup. There was much circumstantial historical detail here that did not bear public presentation, but one "fact," repeated panhellenic victory, which was relatively uncontroversial. Praising Hieron's regal virtues in connection with horse racing meant that Pindar could explore, justify, and praise Hieron's

[9] Cf. Mann 2001: 257.

[10] Cf. Angeli Bernardini 1983: 26, who notes that although royal dignity is praised both for the Deinomenids and Arkesilas, only the Deinomenid odes present the ideology of an *optimus rex*.

[11] *O*. 2.7–11 (note "famous ancestors" in line 7). Rose 1992: 151 sees Pindar's valorization of inherited excellence under the banner of *phua* as his "special contribution" to the attempt to reaffirm aristocratic values in the early fifth century (cf. also 160–162).

victorious position by constructing a model of kingship that appropriated one pole of the long-standing opposition in Greek culture between good and bad rulers. Because these odes are foundational, they move in territory that Arkesilaos did not need to, and Theron did not want to, explore.

Pindar's project in the theorization of Syracusan monarchy is reflected in the varied vocabulary that he uses to describe Hieron, both directly and by implication from gnomic statements. He is, of course, *basileus*, twice directly (*O*. 1.23, *P*. 3.70), and twice via gnomes (*O*. 1.114, *P*. 2.14).[12] He is a tyrant who is the leader of his people (λαγέταν . . . τύραννον, *P*. 3.85), again by implication from a gnome. In *Pythian* 1 he is a founder (*oikistēr, P*. 1.31), a ruler (Συρακοσίων ἀρχῷ, *P*. 1.73), and a steward (*tamias, P*. 1.88), as well as a "man who is a leader" (ἀγητὴρ ἀνήρ, *P*. 1.69) in a generalization on the role of royal father-son inheritance. *Pythian* 2.58 calls him "authoritative lord of many garlanded streets and of the host" (πρύτανι κύριε πολλᾶν μὲν εὐστεφάνων ἀγυιᾶν καὶ στρατοῦ). The word translated as "lord" here, *prytanis*, was one that had some resonance in a Corinthian context. Diodorus Siculus (7.9.6) informs us that it was the title given in Corinth to the presiding magistrate every year under the Bacchiad oligarchy until the tyranny of Kypselos. Pindar's use of it for Hieron thus endows him with an aura of legitimacy, while qualifying it by the adjective "authoritative" underlines his supremacy. *Pythian* 3 dwells more on the social aspects of Hieron's kingship. He is gentle to the townsfolk, not envious of the good, a father figure to strangers, and Pindar's *xenos*, guest-friend (*P*. 3.69–71), although all these descriptions are presented as aspects of his role as *basileus*. The range of vocabulary used to portray Hieron suggests that Pindar is exploring differing terms for monarchical power in his attempt to set Hieron in his proper context.[13]

At the risk of creating an overly teleological formulation, we might say that the odes for Hieron show the right poet working in the right genre at the right time. I say "the right poet" not because of any preconceptions concerning the superiority of Pindar to Bacchylides, but because, as I indicated in Chapter 1, I find that the opportunities and needs presented by Hieron as a patron were particularly suited to a poet like Pindar. His preoccupation with matters of poetic methodology and his own authority meant that he was well placed to expand these concerns into the arena of political and cultural authority. As we have observed, issues of how to receive the exceptional individual were particularly pronounced when

[12] His son Deinomenes is also "king" of Aitna at *P.* 1.60.
[13] Cf. Luraghi 1994: 355–356; 2011: 32–34 (with slightly different emphasis).

it came to a Sicilian autocrat. The envious carpers who are a ubiquitous foil for epinician's project of praise take on special relevance in a political environment of one-person rule, and dismissing or downplaying their importance would have been a powerful statement in both a Syracusan and a panhellenic context. Similarly, Pindar could find in Hieron an analogue for his own self-presentation as an authoritative speaker who was from time to time challenged by lesser mortals. Both king and poet were engaged in a competition for political or poetic domination.

This discussion has already introduced the notion of "the right genre." Epinician gave a voice to the widespread struggle for cultural prestige through participation in panhellenic contests. It developed an elaborate formal vocabulary of praise that could be deployed for a variety of victors. Yet, I have argued, there was always the possibility of animating this vocabulary in the context of a particular patron. If this possibility had not existed, if praise was merely mechanical, it is difficult to see how the poetry could have been successful. In the case of Hieron, his historical importance has allowed us to reconstruct more of his historical context than is sometimes the case. It has also generated a situation where the elements of praise, motifs we meet in many Pindaric odes, take on new life. The connection between athletics and war, immortality, virtuous behavior within the city, hospitality, wealth, liberality, human expectations, the limits of achievement, the importance of song—all these themes take on new resonance when the object of praise is a tyrant. *Nemean* 4.83–85 (an ode composed for a boy victor from Aigina) proudly proclaims that a hymn of praise makes a man equal to a king (ὕμνος δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐργμάτων βασιλεῦσιν ἰσοδαίμονα τεύχει φῶτα), but when the object of praise is already a king then the hymn can do other things as well. It can reify and authorize his kingship. Hieron is, in Pindar's vision, exceptionally successful in the games as in war, an ideal ruler, a generous host, supreme in wealth, and a patron of the Muses. These qualities were not only matters of generic convention; they were aspects of his construction as a ruler. Pindar may have been busy creating for him immortality through song, but he enthusiastically pursued this goal on his own in his role as oikist. Cultivating the Muses meant not just soliciting a song from Pindar but bringing to Syracuse a varied brigade of poetic and intellectual practitioners. Poetic order and harmony, so obtrusively foregrounded in *Pythian* 1, could exemplify civic order and harmony; the one stands for the other. Pindar often meditates on the limits of human achievement, but the success of a tyrant makes this issue more than usually pressing. Victory in the panhellenic games represents victory and success in the other aspects of

Hieron's public life, and it is the conventional resources of epinician that make this possible.

The concern of the genre with exemplary figures from the mythological past allowed Pindar to develop a consistent model for Hieron as an exceptional individual. We have seen how a series of intertexts with Homeric and Hesiodic epic tend to set Hieron in a positive relationship with visions of kingship from the Greek past. At the same time a series of myths of "great sinners" in each of the Hieron odes, myths that themselves have a complex relationship with Hesiodic epic, construct a negative paradigm of failure to manage a situation of preeminence. Tantalos, Ixion, Koronis, and Asklepios all manifest weaknesses that can be connected with tyrannical failings, while Typhon personifies the act of rebellion against the holder of the scepter of justice (whether that holder be Zeus or Hieron).

Finally: "the right time." Pindar's poetry for Hieron belongs to a decade when the entire Greek world was negotiating an understanding of the significance of the Persian invasion of 480–79 B.C. The Sicilians were developing their own narrative of why they had not participated in the fight against Xerxes. Lyric poetry, elegy, and epigram staked claim and counterclaim on behalf of individuals and cities to have made the greatest contribution to the defeat of the barbarian. Who had medized? Who had been the bravest? Who the cleverest? The competition to be considered the most glorious participant in the war against the barbarian and the most influential leader of the day was conducted even as the Greek world gathered together at the panhellenic sanctuaries to watch athletic competition. Small wonder that the poetry celebrating victory in the latter could also be exploited to position Hieron as a contestant in the former. Did Pindar succeed? It seems unlikely that any mainland detractor would have been convinced to alter his opinion of Hieron, but perhaps this is beside the point. The point was to get the vision out there, and in a form powerful enough that it would last. And so it has.

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